COMPOSITION AND ROLE OF THE NOBILITY (1739-1761)

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ABSTRACT

Foregoing study ' composition and role of the Nobility (1739-1761)', explore the importance of Nobility in Political, administrative, Sicio-cultural and economic spheres. Nobility , *'Arkan-i-Daullat'* (Pillars of Empire) generally indicates the class of people, who were holding high position and were the officers of the king as well as of the state. This ruling elite constituting of various ethnic group based on class, formed the upper strata of society and were always dominant in political sphere.

In Indian sub-continent they served the empire/state most loyally and obediently specially under the Great Mughals. They not only helped in the expansion of the Empire by leading campaign and crushing revolt for the consolidation of the empire, but also made remarkable and laudable contribution in the smooth running of the state machinery and played key role in the development of social life and composite culture.

Mughal Emperor Akbar had organized the nobility based on *mansabdari* system and kept a watchful eye over the various groups, by introducing local forces. He had tried to keep a check and balance

over the activities, which was carried by his able successors till the death of Aurangzeb. During the period of Later Mughals over ambitious, self centered and greedy nobles, kept their interest above state and the king and had started to monopolies power and privileges under their own authority either at the court or in the far off provinces. The easiest way to achieve their goal was to form groups of their own, to earn more concessions and privileges without caring and bothering the interest of the empire. Thus their narrow and selfish approaches and vested interests resulted in hottest mutual rivalries, resulting the breakdown of the administration and decadence of the empire. It was further accelerated when king failed to maintain a "check and balance" of power amongst his nobility. Infact every theory of downfall of the Empire ultimately leads to the actions and role of nobility.

In the first decade of 18th century the post of *wizarat* had become the bone of contention and with the appointment of a lesser known but most loyal person viz. Munim Khan on the coveted post, the concept that only high class, grandee could holding the post started diminishing. By doing so, Bahadur Shah had set aside the suggestion of Aurangzeb to continue to Asad khan in office.

Family background, seniority, experience, relations, with the house of ruler were no longer criterion, but the role in gaining throne for king and loyalty was the latest and recent qualification to assume

wizarat. This led to open all kinds of intrigues, understanding and dealings to achieve target which situation further aggravate the Mutual rivalries and between the nobles led even to brought weak, feeble princes of their choice on throne, just to enjoy more power as has been the case of Zulfiqar, syed brothers.

The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 and the holocaust of Delhi was the natural outcome of these kind of political activities, based on selfish, greed and short sighted policy of the nobles. Majority of the great nobles, who held *wizarat* during the period viz. Zulfiqur Khan, Syed Abdullah Khan, Mohammad Amin khan , Nizam-ul-Mulk, Qamar-ud-Din Khan, Safdar Jang etc. were found drowned in their own personal interest and greeds on one or the other occasions.

However, some of them, earnestly tried to clean the administration by introducing. Sincere and important reform and changes, to check the decadence and downfall of the Empire. Among them the one was Nizam-ul-Mulk but he too failed and finally left for Deccan simply because he was strongly opposed by those elements who were afraid of loosing the grip over the emperor, if the changes took place. The role and in different attitude of Turani group in the first two decades of 18th century, and also at the battle of Karnal disheartened Mohammad Shah, who than shifted his trust and confidence towards Irani nobility. This slightly changed the situation,

though the 'war party' and 'peace party' slogans however reflect the mental set-up of the nobles. Qamr-ud-Din Khan's *wizarat* was however quite peaceful, as he did not indulge in to the petty politics, and never crossed his limits to control the Emperors mind. During this period the office of *Mir Bakhshi* rose to prominence under Khan-i-Dauran the head of 'Peace Party.

Later during the reign of Ahmad Shah the influence of Udham Bai, Koki Jiu and Javed Khan upon the Emperor, failed to achieve anything notable, and the *wizarat* of Safdar Jang failed miserably. With the murder and death of Javed khan, the emperor lost confidence in Irani nobility. Once again Alamgir II tried to promote Turani nobility under the leadership of Intizam-ud-Daulah and Imad-ul-Mulk, the two close relatives, but they appeared just opposite to their titles, and became enemy and fiercely fought with each other, leaving the fate of empire at the hands of Afghans and Marathas.

As the importance of the post of *wizatat* diminished and office of *Mir Bakhshi* became important, this significant change indicates that indeed military strength linked with *mansab* and *Jagir* because more lucrative and attractive.

On the other hand, the dominance of the powerful Marathas in the North India, gradually increasing, which led to the division of court into the two groups. One group was of the view, that stern action

should be taken against them, and by force they should be subdued, while other group advanced their argument to buy peace with Marathas and use them as an ally and protector. To some extent second view was followed though not strictly, which finally led the third bottle of Panipat (1761). leading to the disaster of Marathas finally. It is claimed that a group of nobility invited to Ahmad Shah Adali to invade India in order to destroy Deccanis. Thus it was the last attempt to restore the glory of Mughal Empire, inspite of all these political ups and down.

The leading role of nobles for the development of socio-cultural activities and raising the economic standard had also been assessed.

For the economic development, growth of business and commercial activities they founded urban centers, established market places, invited the merchants and patronized those associated with the small scale industries. In the first half of 18th century, they were the sole protector of the cottage industries and with the downfall of their power and prestige no other class of society could emerged to patronize them.

The Mughal emperors were so occupied with political and personal problems that they could hardly take interest in the development of education and literature. To acquire knowledge and disseminate widely perhaps was great passion with the nobles. They

always owned impressive personal libraries, containing a large number of book on various subjects.

In the development of education they established some of the famous *Madarsahs*, colleges and schools and made huge grants for the upkeep of the seminaries. Some prominent nobles established and maintained *madarsahs* in different parts of the country. For example at Delhi Madarsah-i-Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, Madarsah-i-Sharf-ud-Daulah, Madarsah-i-Roshan-ud-Daulah etc. Were the few high class educational centres founded and funded by nobles. Even Najib-ud-Daulah established a *madarsah* at Najibabad. While the madarsah at Ajmer shrine had teachers of repute generally from Khadi community and was maintained by Waqf of government in which Qamruddin was always found interested.

In the field of music and dance, too, they patronized a large number of professional singer, dancers. No festivities or functions of social and religious character could be observed without their participation. The most famous among them Nur Bai, who even won the heart of Nadir Shah.

While some of them took keen interest in public welfare by constructing bridges, *Sarais*, inns, public baths, shrines, mosques, mausoleums etc. and by these activities they disseminate the Mughal architecture to the far flung areas of the Empire.

During period under review, due to the financial bankruptcy of the Emperors, the interest in painting was last and therefore, so the artist move towards noble's quarter. Thus during this period a number of regional school in this field developed known as *Qalam* i.e. patna Qalam, Lucknow Qalam, Bangal Qalam etc.

However, the 18th century is better than known for communal harmony and harmonies, relations between various sections of society, which are reflected in the day to day life of the entire populace followed them. They participated in each others religious festivals and functions. For example Amir Khan (an important noble of Mohannad Shah, Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh celebrated *Holi* and *Dussehra* festivals in royal fashion. On the other hand Marathas, Rajputs and other Hindu nobles participated in *Muharram* and in the urs of Sufi Saints and visited the *Dargahs* with devotation. The spirit of composite culture and harmony further expressed in revenue free grants (*Madad-e-mash*), which the nobles extended to the support of saints, maintenance of religious institution, religious place and upkeep of *Mashaikhs* etc. For example, Najib-ud-Daulah built a big house of Haridwar for the convenience and comport of Hindu pilgrims, while Maharaja Jai Singh Swai built mosques. The Hindus specially Rajput, chieftains Maratha sardars fixed annual offerings and even land grants

of villages as *Nazar-o-Niyaz* for famous the *dargah* of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti etc.

Inspite of struggle during the period of study among nobles there was no place for religious or sectarian discord. They fought purely on political issue. The women in general were held in high respect and Varlests rightly observed in 1772 that " Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation.

Thus it seems that during the period of study the role of noble was an important factor in the political sphere leading to some extant for the disintegration of Empire, but at the same time in the field of socio-cultural activities they created an atmosphere of communal harmony leading to, successful development the composite culture, which was a distinct if not a novel feature of the period.

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Certificate

This is to certify that ***Mr. Md. Shakil Akhtar*** *has worked under my supervision for his thesis entitled "* ***Composition and Role of the Nobility (1739-1761)****". It is based on his original research work and I consider it suitable for submission for the award of the degree of Ph.D. in History.*

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The 'Ruling Elite', especially at the highest level has always played a key role in the rise and fall of civilization and states. It is in this context that the celebrated historian A.J. Toynbee highlights the importance of the governing class at the top for which he has coined the term 'Creative Minority'. The latter's appropriate response to all kinds of 'Challenges' leads a civilization to success as long as 'Creative Minority' remains selfless and honest working in the interest of the people. But according to Toyanbee this groups when transformed, 'Dominant minority' it becomes selfish and corrupt which forbids appropriate 'Response' to 'challenges' ultimately leading the society towards disintegration.

In the light of above statement the present study of the composition and role of Mughal Nobility has been taken that is when the Mughal Nobality, acted as dominant minority thus, hastening to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

I am dedicating the thesis to my loving father late Md. Nayeem Saheb and elder brother Late Md. Zaki Akhtar. Their love and affection sustained me during my challenging and formative days since schooling. They always remained a constant source of inspiration.

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ABBREVIATION

P.I.H.C	:	*Proceeding of Indian History congress*
J.R.A.S	:	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
J.P.H.S	:	*Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*
J.A.S.B.	:	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*
I.A.	:	*Indian Antiquary*
S.P.D.	:	*Selection from Peshwa Daftar*
E & D	:	*Elliot and Dowson*

Chapter- 1

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The Nobility had been an important organ of monarchical system of government during Medieval period of Indian history. Their organisation was one of the most important institution devised by Mughal Emperors. Theoretically this institution enjoyed no privileges, their privileges depended on the influence, they could wield on the king. That influence itself depended primarily on the administrative and military skills and importance of individual nobles their families and utility to the king.[1] As a consequence the composition of nobility varied from time to time depending on their loyalty, administrative efficiency, political consideration, social milieu of the Empire and finally on the will of the Emperor. During the Mughal rule the character, composition and functioning of nobility, was the serious matter for the Emperors. They evolved a systems of checks and balances by which on the one hand, they were able to uphold the monarchical traditions and on the other hand created a disciplined and efficient ruling elite class. The nobility as a part of ruling class played a significant role in the growth, organisation, administrative structure, social, cultural and economic life of the Mughal Empire. Without a proper study of organisation, composition and role of the nobility, historical understanding of the many aspects of the Mughal Empire will remain incomplete. Scholars working on the Mughal history realized very early the importance of the study of the nobility and therefore important works composition role and contribution of nobility was carried out.

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[1] Syed Nurul Hasan, 'New light on the Relations of the early Mughal Rulers with their Nobility' *P.I.H.C.*, 7th session 1944, Madras, p.1.

The Mughal nobility theoretically the creation of the Emperor. It was alone who could confer, increase, diminish or resume the mansab of any of his subjects. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the Mughal nobility was open to all who could fulfill certain criteria of merit and competence to the satisfaction of the Emperor. So that the nobility of Mughal was the some extent self-perpetuating. So that the son of a nobleman found it easier to enter the service of the King than outsiders. The Mughal Emperors regarded nobility of birth as an important and men of humble origin could and rise to the highest offices. Even writers, professional artists and lower administrators were some times granted mansabs, apart from the Rajputs, a small number of hill Rajas, Jats etc,also found admission to the ranks of the *mansabdars.*

The Mughals never showed much prediction for ethnic, national or class exclusiveness. The nobility of Babar and Humayun included Iranis, Turanni's, Uzbek's and even Afghans - through the latter two were considered the chief enemies of the Mughals. Indian nobles, i.e those who were the descendents of earlier immigrants from west and Central Asia or were Indian converts of Islam, seem also to have found employment at the Mughal court from the very beginnings. Akbar's alliance with the Rajputs was prompted in good measure by a desire on his part to counter balance the power of a section of old nobility. However the alliance to be extended by later rulers and came to be regarded as one of the corner stone of Mughal policy. Thus the significant step towards the evolution of a composite ruling class consisting of both Muslims and Hindus.

The reputation of the Mughal Emperor's as generous patrons of learning's and administrative talent and of their remarkably free from narrow racial or sectarian prejudices attracted to their court able and ambitious men from many countries. Most of these men came from the neighboring countries of Iran, Turan and Afghanistan, though a few come from distant places like Turkey, Egypts, and even Arabia. Some of new comers were remarkably able people and rose to occupy the highest officer in the state. Emperor were deeply attached to the aristocratic principle and when a representative of some noble family of Iran or Turan or someone who had held high office in a neighboring kingdom came to the court-sometimes in consequences of a political upheaval they welcomed him and appointed him to a suitable *mansab*. Similar consideration was extended to ancient families among Indian Muslims and Rajputs. But further promotion generally depended largely on merit, although individual connexious, intrigue etc. inevitably played a part. Some modern writers have divided the nobility into "foreigners" and "Indian " identifying the former with the Mughals and the latter with the Hindustan and the Rajputs. But such a division seems to be of doubtful validity for the 18th century. The word Mughal was loosely used to denote those who had recently come to the country from Iran and Turan, However the Mughals were not the representative off any foreign power which had its economic and political interest outside the country. One they joined the Emperor's service, they made India their home and hardly kept any contact with the land of their birth. One of the condition of services was that they should brings their family and

children to the country. Who came to the country also rapidly assimilated the culture of the Mughal court.

Contemporary writers recognized the existence of numerous sub-region in India, these being geographical and also, to some extent, cultural units. Thus reference is made to Gujrati, Kashmiri, Deccani and Hindustani nobles. In most of these regions, there were a number of clearly recognizable communities or clans in existence which are often mentioned as separate entitles. Thus, the term Deccani included Afghans, Marathas, Habshis etc. living in the Deccan. The term Gujrati included the Afghans as well as native converts living in Gujrat.

The terms applied to the various sections in the nobility are thus somewhat misleading by the first half of 18th century, the only group among the Indian Muslim which retained the tribal clan structure to any considerable degree were the Afghans. The policy of the Mughal was to wary of the Afghans but not to deny them *mansabs* or employment.

The Rajputs who formed a regional as well as a tribal-clan group had shown less capable than Afghans but their traditional position as ruler and leaders of Hindu society gave them a special status. The actual number was never large but gifted individuals like Man Singh, Jai Singh, Ajit Singh, Jai Singh Swai etc rose to the highest rank. The Bundelas also attain a position by 18th century. As the Empire expanded towards the Deccan, many Marathas also entered the royal service.

Thus during studied period a composite nobility developed comprising of different races, countries, religious and tribes. Even

the some European got the title of Indian nobles like Robert Clive had awarded with the title of Nawab Zabdat-ul – Mulk Moinuddaullah Sabat Jang Bahdur in 1760 . Similar titles were offered to the principal officers of the English East India Company.

Prof. Satish Chandra's *'Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court- 1707-1740' (1959),* highlight the political role of the later Mughal nobility and their struggle for power at the Mughal court. An other monumental work by Prof. M. Athar Ali's entitled *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (1966), is a study about the character, composition and role of the Mughal nobility during Aurangzeb's reign. Z.U. Malik's *'The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719-48' (1977)* Though mainly on Muhammad Shah (1719-48) yet highlights the political, social, cultural condition of the period and the part played by nobility during this period of disintegration.

Many recently published works has highlighted the role of nobility. Some of these have also assessed the role of important classes family[2], racial[3] and religious[4] groups of the nobility during the Mughal rule.

However no systematic work covering the period of 1739-61, has so far been produced by scholars. While this period under review is an important and final phase, for the Mughal Empire and even for the country overall which not on the witnessed internal conflicts and also regular invasion from outside. Which, hastened the Mughal Empires distraction and downfall. Foreign invader

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[2] Afzal Hussain, *'The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir,* Aligarh, 1999.

[3] Sunanda Bhattacharya *'Role of Jats and Rajputs in the Mughal court,* Jodhpur, 1993; Rita Joshi, *'The Afghan Nobility and the Mughal (1526-1707),* Delhi, 1985,

[4] Manohar Singh Ranawat, *Shahjahan ke Hindu Mansabdar,* jodhpur, 1973,

continuously invaded on Hindustan leading the Mughal Empire to disintegrating. It is noteworthy to find out that whether during this period of crisis, either Mughal nobility played positive role and contributed to the longevity of the Mughal empire or their individual conflicts and personal interest further deteriorated the condition of the Empire. Further more what were the effects of their activities on the socio-cultural life of the people.

The Mughal nobility as it is wellknown comprised of multiracial (*Turani*, *Iranis*, *Indian Muslims*, *Rajputs*, *Afghans*, *Deccanis*, etc) and multi religious elements like Hindus, Muslims, (Shia and Sunnis). However at the time of Babur's conquest of India, it was purely consisted of *Turanis* with the exception of a few Khurasanis who joined him after the fall of Timurid kingdom of *Hirat*.

But soon after his conquest of India, he admitted a large number of *Afghans,* local *Shaikhzadas* and chiefs, in his nobility mainly for two reasons; firstly his central Asian nobility had been creating problem for him in *Farghana*, *Samarqand, Kabul* and also in India. It seems by admitting local elements, he wanted to counter them. Secondly, by admitting local elements he also wanted to broaden his ruling class and expands the acceptability of his kingdoms. It may point out here that Akbar's introduction of the Indian or local elements in his nobility were not new innovations.[5]

The situation however changed after the accession of Humayun very soon Afghan offering resistance and as a consequence the empire divided among the Mughal princes. This led

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[5] Afzal Hussain, *Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir,* P.4.
[5] I.A. Khan, *'The Political Biography of Mughal noble, Munim Khan (1497-1575),* Aligarh, 1973, PP. X-XX

to sharp division in the Turani nobility and above all the incapability of Humayun to deal with the situation firmly further led to the thinning of the ranks of Indian nobles in Mughal service. The nobility under Humayun again became purely Turani. Humayun finally expelled from India in 1540 and it can be said without doubt that one of the most important factor for his defeat and migration was the destructive role of his nobility. During the 1540-55 Humayun's nobility underwent a great change and a number of new elements joined his service and the old Turani nobles were placed by a new Turani and Persian element.

During the early period (1555-60) Akbar faced serious problem with regard to his nobility as at the bottom of the crisis was Turani nobility's contention that the traditions evolved under the early *Khaqans* known as *yasa-i-changezi, Tura-i-changezi* etc. Should carried out and no change in that concept should be made.[5] Hence Akbar decided to counter them by admitting local elements viz, Indian Muslims and Rajputs and he thereafter succeeded not only altering the composition of nobility but strengthening a new concept of sovereignty.[6]

Period	Total	Turanis	Persians	Shaikhzadas	Rajputs	Others
1555	51	27	16	-	-	8
1565-75 (500 & above)	96	38	37	9	8	4
1575-95 (1000 &	87	32	34	14	14	3

[6] I.A. Khan, 'The Nobility of Akbar and development of Religious Policy' (1560-80) JRAS, 1968, P. 3

Above)						

Table 1.1

Table 1.1 indicate that the Turani's lost their overall position in the nobility. Their numerical strength declined and the local elements, who were admitted at their cost, were rewarded with high *mansab* and important job, bringing significant change in the composition of nobility.

However, Afghan who could not reconcile to the loss of their power and continued to foment troubles were not admitted in the nobility in large number. Only few of them like Daulat Khan Lodi, Yusaf Khan, Mohammad Khan Niyazi, Baz Bahadur, Salim Khan etc, were admitted but their status in the ruling class was insignificant.[7]

By these measures Akbar was able to create efficient loyal nobility by introducing some basic changes in Mughal administration especially in the condition of service. But tension within the nobility continued, and on several occasion Turani officers refused to cooperate with Persians and Indian Muslims.[8]

Jahangir (1606-27) in various aspect of administration is claimed to have largely followed the policy of his father. However, his attitude changed towards certain sections of nobles because of their role during the accession crisis. As a matter of fact even before coming to power he developed distaste for some of the senior Akbar shahi nobles. He was of view that they have attempted to poison the ears of the Emperor against him and precisely for this reason he got Abul Fazl killed; Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka not only fell out of his favour for their hostility during the accession crisis. Also

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[7] Afzal, Hussain, 'The Afghan Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir' *P.I.H.C., Goa,* 1987, P.193.
[8] *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir,* op. cit., P. 217-20.

Jahangir lost confidence in Akbari nobles in general particularly after the rebellion of Khusrau. Hence, he raised a new nobility on which he could have complete confidence. So he promoted to higher rank nobles like, Sadr-i-Jahan, Sharif Khan, Bir Singh Deo Bundela, Syeds of Barha and many others. Nearly all of them were raised to higher ranks for their loyalty and services rendered by them, when he was a prince or at the time of accession crisis. Thus, he promoted them on personal ground rather than on the meritorious services. This policy resulted in factionalism and group politics at the Mughal court.

Although the *mansabs* of old nobles were not curtailed but aforesaid nobles were raised to equal ranks, by appointing them on extra ordinary important military commands and posts even to governorship. This naturally created rivalry and suspicion between Akbarshahi and Jahangirshahi nobles. Mirza Aziz Koka in a letter[9] had accused Jahangir of changing the policy of his nobility by deliberately ignoring Rajputs and Turanis and giving undue importance to Indian Muslims and *Irani*.

Another element which was introduced in nobility during Jahangir's reign was the induction of Maratha's in Mughals service though under political and military pressure. Ever since Malik Amber, 'remark Athar Ali 'utilized the Maratha chiefs and their followers on a large-scale; the Mughals had begun to realize the value of Maratha element especially in the Deccan. Jahangir recruited and made good use of them'.[10]

But the real change in the composition of the nobility during Jahangir's reign was the induction of afghan on in large number and on higher rank which was restricted by Akbar. [9]

In the early year of Jahangir's reign Khan-i-Jahan Lodhi was elevated to higher rank and as many as 21 Afghan held high *mansab*. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi's promotion to higher rank and appointment on important offices and close personnel relation with the Emperor completely changed the position of Afghans. Perhaps, it was possible by the fact that the suspicion about the Afghan, which had haunted the Mughals earlier, might now have been considerably moderated, after the firm foundation of Muhal Empire laid by Akbar. Their number in different phases of Jahangir's reign is shown in Table 1.2.

Years	**No. of Mansabdar**	**Turani**	**Irani**	**Rajpur**	**Shaikhzadas**	**Afghans**
1605-12	1000& above (128)	40	31	21	17	11
1613-27	1000&above (128)	47	71	31	30	21

Table: 1.2

Shahajahan, after ascending the throne broadly followed his father policy regarding composition of nobility. From the very first year the Irani enjoyed dominant position at the court. It was due to Asaf Khan's crucial support in his accession and the past position

[9]. *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*,op. cit., pp-185-86.

enjoyed by Iranis during Jahangir's reign. Thus Iranis won special favour under both Jahangir and shahjahan.[10]

It appear that the Indian Muslims including Afghans were admitted in services and given high ranks not because of special regards but because of their services they rendered during the war of succession. But soon after his accession two important events took place one was the revolt of Jujhar Singh Bundela and another Khan-i-Jahan Lodhi.

In the case of Jujhar Singh Bundela's revolt India Muslims and Afghan along with nobles of other racial groups fought bravely and successfully suppressed the revolt and in reward they were promoted. But during the revolt of Khan-i-Jahan Lodhi's, Afghans were divided as some of them supported to the Khan-i-Jahan Lodhi while others were with the Imperialist. After the suppression of revolt, Afghans in general were again looked with suspicion. No Afghan hereafter was appointed as provincial governors or allowed to lead military campaign independently. Thus Afghans apparently suffered as set back and it seems that Shahjahan had no trust in the Afghans.[11] However Indian Muslims were raised and placed as *Qiladar* and governors as well. Even Sadullah khan was raised to the rank of 7000/7000 and had tremendous influence over the Emperor as royal princes approached him for his favour on the whole. Thus it may be said that the Indian Muslim made a remarkable progress during this period.

Though Shahanjahan was a devout Muslim king who adopted a number of measures to show his inclination towards Muslims but

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[10] M. Ather Ali, *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb,* Bombay, 1968 P. 19.
[11] Ibid, P. 20.

this change was quite superficial, as it did not affect the basic nature of Mughal-Rajput relation. Perhaps sympathetic and the favourable attitude towards Rajputs had gradually become a tradition amongst Mughal, which could not be easily dismissed.

It is quite clear that the overall strength of the Rajputs mansabdars increased from the first decade of his reign to the last years of his rule, though it was not a large jump.

Regarding Marathas, the state policy was usually guided by vicissitudes in the political and military occurrences in "the Deccen. Since, the Deccen was the main concern for Shahjahan and the Marathas being an important element of Deccen politics, they had to be incorporated in Mughal service as a demanded of political expediency. They emerged as the second powerful group among the India nobles after the Rajputs. After the settlement of the Deccen, they gradually declined in number as well as in position. Their number in different phases of Shahjahans reign is shown in Table 1.3. [12]

Period	Total	Irani	Turani	Indian Muslims	Afghan	Rajputs	Maratha	Other Hindu
1628-36 (1000 & above)	342	53	93	32	37	53	32	3
1637-	255	50	75	28	24	41	19	2

[12] Firdaus Anwar, *Nobility under the Mughals* (1628-58) PP. 18-38.

41 (1000 & above)								
1642-58 (1000 & above)	448	96	132	59	38	74	16	7

Table -1.3

Table 1.3 also shows a gradual growth in the number of other Hindu nobles from the beginning till the end of Shahjahan's reign but this rise confined mainly to the lowest category of *mansab*. Their rise mainly based on merit capacity and devotion, which brought them to this elevated level of the *Umara*.

It was noticed that nobles were hostile or to certain amount there is jealousy amongst the various sections of nobility. But the Emperor followed a consciously planned policy towards the various section of the nobility and changes in the strength of each group reacted upon the nobility and cohesion of the nobility and the Empire as a whole. The decline in the position of Turanis continued under Aurangzeb. One may have impression that the Turanis were the dominant section of the nobility but this was not true. It was due to the *Turanis* especially the *Badakhshis,* who were generally regarded as uncultured and boorish in India.[13] An officer of Aurangzeb's court states that the word of a *Turani* could not be

[13] *Nobility under Aurangzeb*, op. cit., P. 18

trusted, only earned a mild reproof asking him to remember that his Emperor was also a *Turani*.

During 1658-78, there were 13.7% of nobles were *Turani*, while during 1679-1707 they numbered only 12.5%.

It has been suggested that in the war of succession Aurangzeb rallied the Sunnis against Shia,[14] but in reality there is no basis for this assumption. Thus Aurangzeb's victory in the war of succession did not affect the position of the *Iranis* in any way. Berneir says that the greater part of his foreign nobility consisted of Persians.[15] On the top rung of the leader, 23 *Iranis* held the rank of 5000 and above in 1658-78 and 14 in 1679-1707, while the *Turanis* was 9 and 6 in respective duration.

The Iranis maintained their position partly because of the influx from the Deccen, Mir Jumala provides one of classic example who entered into Mughal service. Aurangzeb is also said to have entertained great confidence in officers from Khawaf and became considerable favourable to them during his reign. Also, the position of the Persian was affected by the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emperor.

Aurangzeb as a prince also seems to have made an attempt to win over the Afghans. There were only three (3) Afghan holding the rank of 5000 and above in 1658-78, but there were no less than ten (10) in the same category in the period 1679-1707. While *mansabdars* of 1000 zat and above during 1658-78 was 43 out of 486, and during 1679-1707, the Afghan only 34 out of 575. But this decline was only at the lower level.

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[14] I.A. Ghori, J. P. H. S., Vol, VIII, Part, II, P.P. 97-119
[15] Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, 1656-68, P-8, 26.

The number of Indian Muslims slightly declined in the strength due to eclipse of certain old families. There were 65 Indians Muslims, out of 486 *mansabdars* of 1000 and above in 1658-78 i.e. 13.4% or 12%. In 1658-78 there were 11 Indian Muslims enjoying the rank of 5000 and above but during 1679-1707 they were 10.[16] The Syeds of Barha and the Kambohs, who had held leading position since the time of Akbar, were no longer prominent during the later years of Aurangzeb. The Syeds of Barha, who traditionally formed the vanguard of the Mughals, was not liked by Aurangzeb.[17] Who considered their position to prominent post and highest offices make them haughty and proud. In the years immediately preceding the war of succession Aurangzeb seems to have made an attempt to win over the leading Rajput chiefs to his side. His *nishans* issued to Rana Raj Singh of Mewar have survived.[18] In his early years of reign, treated the Rajputs with a certain amount of consideration and in some respects their position improved over what it had been in Shahjahans reign. There had been on the Jaswant Singh got the rank of 7000 in the last of his reign. Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Raja Jaswant Singh the latter inspite of his role at the battle of Dharmat and Khajwah, were promoted to 7000/7000. In 1665 Jai Singh was made the viceroy of the *Deccen* and Jaswant Singh of Gujrat. That was the most important and highest charges in the MUghal empire.

Bernier who was at Agra till 1665, noted that "The Great Mughal, though a Mohammadan and as such as enemy to the Gentiles (Hindu) always keep in his service a large retinue of Rajas,

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[16] *Nobility under Aurangzeb*, op.cit., P.21
[17] Ibid, P. 21.
[18] Vir Vinod, II, PP. 423-424.

treating them with the same consideration as his other *omrahs* and appointing them to important commands in his armies."[19]

Even the rebellion of the Rathors and Sisodias in 1680-81, did not initiate any great decline in the fortunes of the Rajput nobility. During 1679-1707, we find only 73 Rajputs officers out of 575 merely 12.6% while in 1658-78 it was 14.6% indicating decline in percentage. In fact this was a decline generally suffered by the *Deccani* as well. If we take non-Deccani nobles the numbers of Rajputs amounted to 16.6% of the total during 1658-78 While, 1679-1707 the Rajputs numbered 17.6%. This Statistics do not led support to the view that there was a special discrimination against the Rajputs after 1678 A.D.

Year	Total	Irani	Turani	Afghans	Indian Muslims	Rajp.	Maratha
1658-78 (1000 to 5000)	486	136	67	43	65	71	27
1679-1707	575	126	72	34	69	73	96

[19] *Travels in Mughal Empire*, op. cit., P. 40

II. Nobility and cultural activities under Great Mughals (1526-1707)

The Mughal nobles not only played an important role in political and administrative activities but many of them possessed creative ability. They had among them some of the best scholars of the age. Some of them were poets in the real sense some others had flair for learning of music. Some were with the zeal of laying out gardens for the relief of the fatigued, others constructed mosques and *sarais* and other buildins for the public to take rest and worship God. A few among them dug up canals and tanks, wells, Baolis for irrigation and for Kar-i-Khair (Virtues deeds).

Nobles were well-versed in the art of writing poetry, and were patronising learning. Bairam khan patronised learned men and gift bestowed by his hand as open as ocean.[20] Munim Khan another noble of Akbar was fond of reading and had a personal library of choicest books having collected them from wherever he could.[21]

Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Kanan, wrote under the pen name of Rahim was a master of Persian Arabic and Turkish, he was also first rate Sanskrit scholar and excellent poet of Hindi and Rajasthani. In fact no history of Hindi poetry can be completed without reference to the contributions of his verses.[22]

There was large number of nobles who were master of pen and produced valuable work. But not only the nobles tried in composing poetry but they also employed some poets at their court

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[20] Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarukh,* vol. III, P. 190

[21] S.A. Zafar Nadri, Libraries during the Muslim rule in India, *Islamic culture,* Vol. XXI, Hydrabad, 1954

[22] Dr. P.S. Bedi, *The Mughal Nobility under Akbar*, PP. 118.

to enjoy it. Some of the nobles who employed the poets in their service were Bairam Khan, Abdur Rahim Khan, Khan-i- Azam, Khawja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad and Yusuf Khan.[23]

Among the nobles of the court there were some renowned historian and scholars. Abul Fazl stands at the top, he has written one of the best history in Persian. Khawja Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Sheikh Farid Bukhari etc. were other prominent historians of the period. Some nobles employed literary persons, to write history amongst them was Arif Qandhari the author of 'Tarikh-i-Arif Qandhari' who in the service of Bairam Khan. Bayazid another historian of the period of Akbar had been in the service of Munim Khan.[24]

Nobles also patronized other arts i.e. Music. Bairan Khan paid in one sitting a lac of tankas to Ram Das, a musician who was his companion and intimately associated and second only to Tansen as a musician and singer. His voice was soul rendering and would bring tear to Bairam's eyes.[25]

Apart from occasional rewards poets were given monthly allowances that relieved them of all worldly cares. But poets were from being the only persons to be benefited and patronage from nobles. A number of sources *'Masir-ul-Umara'* and *'Masir-i-Rahimi'* and other sources besides a list of outstanding scholars, story tellers, musicians, singers, painters and calligraphists.

Several nobles like Ismail khan, Sheikh Farid Bukhari, Sadiq Muhammad, Shah Quli Mahram, Muhammad Khan Niazi and Abdur

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[23] Ibid, P. 121.
[24] S.A.A. Rizvi; *Religious and intellectual History of the Muslim in Akbar's Reign*, PP. 222.288.
[25] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, op. cit., Vol, II, P. 42.

Rahim khan-i- khanan etc. Were fond of erecting buildings for public as well as private use.

Sheikh Farid Bukhari built many Sarais in Ahmadabad he built the mosque and tomb of Shah Waji-hu-Din Ghyas. He also founded Faridabad near Delhi.[26]

Khan-i- Khanan Abdur Rahim Khan constructed a number of buildings, *sarais*, shelters for the poor and apartment for the staff of the establishment.

Some of the nobles constructed mosques for the worship of God. Among those who built mosque the names of Muzaffar khan and Khan-i-Jahan, Gesu Khan have been mentioned in the historical records. Muzaffar Khan Turbati built a mosque known as Jami Masjid at katra Mian Raqiq at Agra.[27]

Besides Muslim nobles Raja Bhagwan Das, a Rajput noble, not being affected by religious prejudices constructed a mosque known as Jami Masjid at Lahore.[28]

The Khan-i-Khanan started the constructions of the hammams (Bathroom) of Iran type in India those that were built under his care were very decent and magnificent. The Khan-i-Khanan was the first to built in Gujrat the hammams for the poor public inclusive of beggars and faqirs.[29]

Raja Man Singh built hammams and mosques at several places where people bathe and then offer prayer.

The gardens laid out by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan were class of their own he laid out *Fatah Bagh* near Ahmadabad and *Lal*

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[26] Shahnawaz Khan, *Masir-ul-Umara,* Vol. II, P. 739.
[27] Ain-i-Akbari, Vol.I, (Biochmann) P. 375.
[28] Ibid, P. 353.
[29] Maasit-i-Rahimi, Vol. I, P. 601.

Bagh at Burhanpur were the monuments of Khan-i-Khanan's vision and love for gifts of nature. Jahangir and European travellers were highly impressed by the aura of the scenic beauty of these gardens and have left description profusely loaded with praise.[30]

In addition to the buildings meant for utility purposes nobles constructed some other fascinating buildings some of these have been noticed by Jahangir in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Jahangir appreciating of Shah Budagh's buildings in these words "as exceedingly fascinating and enjoyable buildings".[31]

He also appreciates Man Singh's buildings. Hakim Ali dug a wonderful tank in Lahore, a road within which led to a chamber. The extraordinary thing was that water could not enter the chamber. These constructions have attracted the attention of Abul Fazl, Badauni, Jahangir and Shaikh Nurul Haq and a testimony to its excellence.

Therefore present study aims at studying the composition and role of the Mughal nobility in the administrative structure polity as well as socio-cultural activities.

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[30] *The Mughal nobility under Akbar*, op. cit., P. 126.
[31] *Tuzuki-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, P. 190.

Chapter-2

Role of Nobility and Problem of Wizarate, 1707-1719

ROLE OF NOBILITY AND PROBLEMS OF WIZARAT DURING 1707-19

It will not be out of context to give a brief historical account of the problems of *wizarat*, which led tremendous effect on the disintegration of central administration and the growth of rival factions at the court. In the light of this development the activities, policies and works of nobility can be better evaluated, as it has a determining influence on the course of events in the coming years.

In the last year of his reign, Aurangzeb appointed to Zulfiqar Khan as *Mir Bakshi* in 1702. While his father Asad Khan was already serving as *Wazir* from 1676, thus both the father and the son served on the respected post of *wazir* and *Mir Bakshi* until 1707. Aurangzeb also hoped and perhaps hinted that whosever amongst his son succeeded. Him as king, he would be guided by and would rely on Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan[1]. Thus in his so called will he had recommended that whichever of his son succeeded to the throne should retain Asad Khan as the *wazir*. But Muazzam (Shah Alam I Bahadur Shah) promised Mumin Khan to appoint him the *Wazir* before he left Lahore on 5th May, 1707 for the contest of throne.[2] This lesser known noble served Muazzam as *Diwan* and acted as his deputy in the province of Lahore. He held the rank of 1500/1000. By his administrative, experience financial capabilities and Military skills, he earned the prince's high opinion and confidence. Shah

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[1] Satish Chandra, *Medieval India,* Vol. II. pp. 457-58,

[2] Ghulam Husain, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin* (English translation), Vol. I, P.102.

Alam after becoming emperor appointed him *Wazir,* increased his rank to 4000/2000 and conferred on him the title of *Khan-i-Zaman* with a gift of *togh* and *Kettle drums*.

The new Emperor recognized it in these words "All I have won is due to your (Munim Khan) exertion[3]".

Problem of Wizarat: factor for the disintegration of Mughal empire

Bahadur Shah proclaimed king at Agra, and declared that all those nobles who had supported Azam would be pardoned restored to their *mansabs* and positions if they came and submitted to him immediately. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar also submitted, and in hope of Aurangeb's recommendations, experience etc. deserved for the post of *wazir* for himself and that of *Mir Bakshi* for Zulfiqar Khan. Bahadur Shah set aside their claim. With the support of Jahan Shah and Begum, he appointed wazir to Munim Khan, on 19th June 1707, with the Mansab of 7000/7000 *du aspa se aspah* and the title of Khan-i-Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang. Munim Khan also received a grant of one corer of rupees in cash and one crore in kind[4]. No officer since the time of Timur had obtained such a bounty[5].

Thus Bahadur Shah set aside the quality and claim of Asad Khan who belonged to upper strata of the ruling class, and was also a leader of the Irani group of the nobility, had a long and varied experience of civil and military administration, and was

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[3] Kamraj, *Ibrat Nama,* f. 34a
[4] Ananymous, *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shah, MS., f.2.*
[5] *Masir-u-Umara,* op. cit., (eng. trans). Vol. III, p. 296.

among the top personalities of the empire. On the other hand Munim Khan did not belong to upper class, nor did he had command the leadership of any influenencial group in the nobility. His family status was also not very high. Thus Bahadur Shah appointed Munium Khan on the post of *wazir*, on the basis of personnel service rendered to him in the contest of throne and not in the interest of the empire, in other words the criterion for the *wizarat* lay in the personal service rather than the interest of empire.

As the pressure was mounting and Asad Khan's claim can not be easily discardable so that the emperor appointed him *Vakil-i-Mutlaq,* a position superior to *wazir* and earlier held by Asaf Khan under of Shah Jahan[6]. Asad Khan's objective was to enjoy absolute and of undisturbed power. He sent a long list of privileges and powers exercised by late Asaf Khan, to the emperor, and requested to confer the same upon on him[7]. Bahadur Shah accepted all his demands except the rank of 9000/9000 and the right to sit in *Diwan-i-Aam*. In his reply to the Khan's petition, Bahadur Shah argued that these special privileges enjoyed by Asaf Khan were due to his relationship with Shahjahan as he was his father-in-law. Asad Khan was raised to the Mansab of 8000/8000 with the titles of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf-ud-Daulah and also the governship of Lahore[8].

This forceful adjustment failed to solve the problem of *wizarat*. Asad Khan got the power to see all the papers of

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[6] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., f. 35a.
[7] W. Irvin, *Later Mughals,* Vol. I, 1921, p. 38.
[8] Hadi Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai,* MS f. 334a

appointments *parwanas*, *sanads*, and report from the provinces and put his seal on them. He could see his Majesty at any time and discuss matter of importance with him. He was also the keeper of Royal seal and enjoyed to beet his drums next after those of the princes[9].

When Asad Khan held his office, Munim Khan had to wait upon him and obtained his signatures to papers as other ministers did[10]. Munim Khan found tedous and found himself out of harmony with Asad Khan. He was loath to function as subordinate to an official who had played no role in the war of succession. This creates a new difficulty for the king. This he sought to solve by appointing Zulfiqar Khan to assist his father and Asad Khan was allowed to retire from public life due to old age. But Zulfiqar Khan was exercised no such power, as exercised by Asad Khan. He only kept the seal, which was placed upon revenue and civil *parwanas* and *sanads*[11], after the seal of the wazir, he had not part in the administration. With this readjustment the position and power of *wazir* was re-established.

Thus at last the post of *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* had become defunct and Munim Khan's prestige and administrative power was restored. In this way he pleaded that those who didn't strive to win the throne for the Mughal emperor, forfeited the claim to keep the reins of supreme power in their grip and control. He drew a well marked policy and distinction between a noble, who

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[9] Shakir Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani,* ff. 56, 57.
[10] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* p. 601.
[11] Ibid, p. 602.

fought for the cause of the Emperor and the other who could not rise to the occasion was plainly side line. In this way the ablest noble was deprived of an opportunity to serve the state, and to contribute for the improvement and prospering of the empire and administrative standards. However, this also led to more friction and factions among nobility and serious breach between Munim Khan and Zulfiqar Khan under Bahadur Shah.

Munim Khan got free hand and wide scope as the *wazir* on different issue another emperor had always paid due regard to his polices and views.[12] His rise to such supremacy was entirely due to the firm attitude of the Emperor, due to high loyalty in spite of stiff opposition from Iran's. Moreover, the princes specially Azim-us-Shan constantly seeking to gain control of state affairs, proved indirectly a great check upon the *wazir.*[13] In order to preserve his own interest, he took sides in mutual conflicts among the emperor's sons[14].

The interference of the royal princes (Emperor's sons) proved to be a check upon Munim Khan, who had little chance to assert his independence and work for self aggrandizement. In the words of Iradat Khan "he thought it fortunate to steer his vessel safe through such four great sea"[15]. He did not venture to dominate the king or thwart his will. Munim Khan was moderate in his attitude towards people, solved their problems ably with

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[12] Iradat Khan, *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan.* ff 68b, 74b, 77b.
[13] Ibid, f. 78a.
[14] Ibid, f. 78b.
[15] Ibid,

love and consideration[16]. He had appointed *sazwars* to ensure that during hours of office papers of applicants should not remain unsigned till the following day[17]. He purchased waste land and took keen interest in their development[18]. His poetic talents and bent for mysticism increased greatly to his reputation. He composed verses and wrote a book on Sufism *(Tasawwuf)* under the title of *Ilhamat-i-Munimi.*[19]

In December 1710, Munim Khan's death responded the problem of *wizarat*. Zulfiqar Khan represented that his father, Asad Khan should now be made *wazir*, while he himself would to continue as *Mir Bakshi* and as well governor of the south (Deccen). The Emperor objected to his request on the ground that concentration of highest executive powers in one family was dangerous for the empire[20]. Mahabat Khan, son of Munim Khan and third *Bakshi*, also came forward as contender for *wizarat* and brought the influence of prince, Azim-ush-Shan to bear upon the king. But Bahadur Shah turned down the prince's recommendation because his protégé lacked necessary qualification for the post.[21] With a view to conciliate both aspirants and create a feeling of harmony among nobles, the emperor offered Zulfiqar Khan the *wizairat* and Mahabat Khan, the *subedari* of south. But Zulfiqar Khan refused either to work as wazir in the lifetime of his father and also to give up hold over

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[16] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* pp. 675, 677.
[17] *Maasir-ul-Umara,* op.cit p. 298.
[18] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op.cit p. 675.
[19] *Maasir-ul-Umara,* op.cit., p. 299.
[20] Iradat Khan, *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan,* MS f, 84a.
[21] *Later Mughals,* op. cit., Vol. I., p. 127.

the Deccen. Ultimately, no *wazir* was appointed. Hidayat Ali Khan (Later got the title of Sadulah Khan) appointed to the post of chief *diwan,* who was to sign and seal royal order.[22] But the real control of administration rested with prince Azim-ush-Shan[23]. The ablest amongst the grandsons of Aurangzeb.

At this stage Bahadur Shah was disillusioned with most of his nobles, whom he found either fit or unfit for the *wazir*. The appointment of chief *diwan* instead of *wazir*, frustrated Zulfiqar Khan and other nobles. Meanwhile Bahadur Shah died in 1712, the succession disputes once again arose in the royal family. Powerful nobles excited hopes of success in the heart of each contestants, in return of their commitments obtained assurances for posts and power. Under the circumstances the princes bowed to whatever a noble demanded without taking into account his merits or demerits.

Zulfiqar Khan renewed his efforts to assume supreme leadership in the government. He approached Azim-ush-Shah and offered to fight under his banner in the coming fratricidal war. But his overtures were rejected, causing humiliation to Zulfiqar Khan[24]. Now Amir-ul-Umara Zulfiqar Khan paid homage to Jahandar Shah and revived his spirit to meet the crisis with courage and confidence. Jahandar Shah promised to make him *wazir* after the success and ascending the throne[25]. He engineered a new strategy, to unite all three princes Jahandar

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[22] Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk,* f. 11b.
[23] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., p. 679.
[24] *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan,* op.cit., f. 85a.
[25] Mohd. Munim, *Farrukh Nama,* f. 11a

Shah, Rafi-ul-Shah and Jahan Shah against the common foe. Azim ush-Shan[26]. It was settled on the basis of an agreement that the Empire would be partitioned and will also be distributed amongst them and that the post of *wazir* would be given to Zulfiqar Khan[27]. For long Zulfiqar khan had ranged himself on the side of Jahandar Shah and conspired to strengthen his cause against all contenders for the crown[28].

Zulfiqar Khan advanced on his determined course and carried the scheme to final success. His diplomatic skill and matchless valour enabled Jahandar Shah to triumph over his rivals and ultimately win the Mughal throne.

Azim-ush-Shan was defeated and killed on the battle field and later on the same fate overtook Jahan Shah and Rafi-ush-Shah[29]. Since Zulfiqar Khan had succeeded in his game, he had no difficulty in securing highest post of the Empire in favour of father and himself.

Asad Khan father of Zulfiqar Khan continued in the office of *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* and his *mansab* was raised to 10,000/10,000[30] Zulfiqar Khan, held three important position simultaneously, he was the *wazir*, the governor of the six provinces of the Deccan and the deputy of the *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*. Thus during the reign of Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan wielded all the powers, the

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[26] Nuruddin, Faruqi, *Jahandar Nama,* f. 12b.

[27] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* op. cit., II, p. 685, *Hadi Kamwar, Tazkira-Salatin-Chaghtai,* Aligarh MS pp. 145-46.

[28] Ibid. II, p. 685.

[29] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., ff. 45b, 56a.

[30] Mohd. Munim, *Farrukh Nama* f, 74a; According to *Jahandar Nama,* in addition of vakil Mutlaq, he received the govern ship of 12000/12000, Jahandar Nama f. 34; Later on his *Mansab* was raised to 15000/15000, *Tuhfat-ul-Hind,* II, ff. 84 ab.

Emperor only acted on his advice as a puppet.[31] His favourite also got favour i.e. his *Diwan* Sabha chand, was given the title of Raja and appointed *Diwan-i-Khalisa-i-Sharifa.*[32] Abdul Samad Khan, his other protégé and a Turani was given the post of *Sadar* with the rank of 7000.[33]

The Emperor conferred the title *'Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur'* to his milk brother, who already had held the title of Ali Murad Kokaltash Khan and appointed him *Mir Bakshi*[34] with the rank of 9000/9000 do asp se aspa.[35] Lal Kunwar beloved of the Emperor, was decorated with the title of *'Imtiyaz Mahal Begum'* or the exalted Princes of the sanctuary or seraglio.

Zulfiqar's ambition to work freely was confronted and resisted by Kokaltash Khan and Lal Kunwar, who were too strong to be outwitted by the *wazir.* Jahandar Shah, long before he became the emperor, had assured Kokaltash to appointed him *wazir.*[36] But unavoidable circumstances compelled Jahandar Shah to go back on his words.[37]

Despaired at the loss of opportunity, the king's old favourite grew hostile towards Zulfiqar Khan. He opposed the *wazir* in every plan and policy and put obstacles in his administrative work. He formed a party and instigated the Emperor that the *wazir* entertained designs too ambitious for a

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[31] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,*op. cit., III, p. 385.
[32] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., II, pp. 691.
[33] Hadi Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin Chaghtai,* p. 159.
[34] Nuruddin Faruqi, *Jahandar Nama,* f. 35a.
[35] *Sawanih-Azam Khani,* f. 104b.
[36] Mohammad. Mirza, *Ibrat Nama,* f. 13b, Nuruddin Faruqi, *Jahandar Nama,* f. 34a.
[37] Mohammad. Faiz Bakhsh, *Tarikh-i-Farah Bakhsh,* Aligarh, MS, f. 172a.

subject, he was conspiring them to bring out another prince and raise him on the throne.[38] It was presumably with a view to checking the growing power of the *wazir* that Jahandar Shah raised the *mansab* of Kokaltash to 9000/9000 or 9000/10,000. He promoted his brother Muhamad Mah, with the title of Azam Khan to the rank of 8000/8000 and appointed him governor of Agra.[39] He also raised the *mansab* of his brother-in-law Khawja Hasan khan with the title of Khan-i-Dauran, to 8000/8000 and appointed him *Mir Bakshi* III.[40]

Meanwhile Sad-u-llah Khan, who held the post of *Mir-i-Saman* with the rank of 5000/5000 reprotedly joined Kokaltash Khan.[41] Sarbuland Khan Azim-ush-Shani was also appointed governor of Gujrat without consulting the *wazir.*[42]

Another faction, who thwarted Zulfiqar Khan's design for further access to power, was Lal Kunwar. Lal Kunwar and her brothers were opposed to the wazir for personal reason. She had over shadowing dominance over the Emperor's mind and influenced him greatly in matters for appointments and grant of titles.[43] One of her brother Niamat Khan was appointed governor of Multan, although this appointment was concelled after few days on the objection of Zulfiqar Khan.[44] Khushhal Khan another borther of Lal Kunwar also got high *mansub* but later was

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[38] J. Scott, *History of Deccen,* Vol. II, Part IV, p. 84.
[39] Nuruddin Faruqi, *Jahandar Nama,* f. 35b; Hadi Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai,* p. 160.
[40] Nuruddin Faruqi, *Jahandar Namah,* f. 35b.
[41] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court,* op. cit., p. 69.
[42] Nuruddin Faruqi, *Jahandar Nama,* f. 38b.
[43] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., f. 46a.
[44] Nuruddin Faruqi, *Jahandar Nama,* ff. 37a, 38a.

severely beatenup and put behind bars under the order of *wazir* and his property was confiscated to the profit of exchequer. This was due to peeping at a beautiful women and general public's complained about their violences. So that G.H Tabatabai called to *wazir* "Natural Lover of Justice"[45]. He is reported to have abolished *Jaziyah* and, in dealing with Rajput Chieftains and Marathas he followed a conciliatory policy.[46]

As the Emperor was a party to the intrigue against the *wazir*, it was not to be expected that he would told timely action to end them and to cut the nobles involved to size. Sometimes in this power struggle, those who were opposed to the *wazir* deliberately ignored the exclusive rights and privileges of the *wazir*, but the Emperor took no such notice of action by his favourites. There were occasion when the nobles differed sharply over vital issues, causing great damage to the interest of the state and the Emperor himself.[47]

When the news of Farrukhsiyar's movement arrived at the court, Kokaltash Khan tried to impress upon the Emperor that it was due to support of Zulfiqar Khan that Farrukhsiyar had decided to press his claim to the throne. This rivalry among the nobles at the court, led to discomfiture of Jahandar Shah at battle[48] and their differences, ruined their plan of war. Each tried to sabotage the other strategy, resulting to the defeat of Jahandar Shah and accession of Farrukhsiyar.

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[45] Tabatabai, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* Vol. I, (Engl. trans). pp. 38-39.
[46] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal court,* op. cit., pp. 74-76.
[47] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., II, pp. 697-98; *Masirul-Umara,* op. cit., II, p. 781.
[48] Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 697-98 and 718-19.

The accession of Farrukhsiyar in 1713 did not bring radical changes in the composition of the council of Ministers for he too came to the throne, with the help and active support of the Syed Brothers.[49] He appointed Syed Abdullah Khan, the *wazir* and his brother Hussain Ali Khan the *Mir Bakshi.* He thus again concentrated civil and military powers in one family, a course, which was adopted by Aurangzeb in his later period of his reign and which Bahadur Shah had avoided to adopt. Thus Farrukhsiyar by combining the two offices in a family denied himself the opportunity of playing the *wazir* and the *Mir Bakshi* off against each other. But at the sometime gave them such power that no one can challenge their authority.

In fact, when Farrukhsiyar occupied the throne, he wanted, Abdullah Khan to hold the office of *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* because he had already reserved and promised *wizarat* for Ahmad Beg, his old companion and favourite.[50] Abdullah Khan pointed out that the post offered to him was devoid of authority and didn't exist in actual practice. It was therefore, an inadequate reward for services rendered by him for the Emperor's cause. Under pressure to keep, Abdullah Khan satisfied, the Emperor changed his mind and appointed him *wazir.*[51] Syed Abdullah Khan was a great military commander but as an administrator he was not equal to his predecessor and lack of experience also constitute for his failure.

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[49] Ibid. II, p. 691.
[50] *Ibrat Nma,* op. cit., MS. f. 14b.
[51] Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk,* ff. 119b, 122a.

Conflict started when, Abdullah Khan, sought to assume a firm position in the government he appointed Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, the *Diwan-i-Khalisa* and Syed Amjad Khan the *Sadr-us-Sadur.* On the other hand Farrukhsiyar gave these posts to Chhablla Ram Nagar and Afzal Khan respectively. The *wazir's* conduct in making such important assignments was approved neither by the Emperor nor by his courtier. The *wazir* arguing that the appointments made by him should be confirmed to maintain the prestige of the *wazir.* At length they solved their differences find a solution by confirming the appointment made by *wazir.* By that, Lutfullah Khan secured the post of *Diwan-i-Khalisah* and Afzal Khan became *Sadr-us-Sudur,* while *subedari* of Agra was bestowed on Chhabela Ram Nagar.[52]

It is reasonably evident from the above facts that Farrukhsiyar didn't like Abdullah Khan to be in the office of *wizarat*, and he wouldn't allow him to enjoy an independent exercise of power in matters of appointments and other executive functions of the state. But the Emperor at this stage could not afford to annoy and break relations with him. He thought that so long as his brother held the office of the *Mir Bakshi,* Abdullah Khan would not be compelled to surrender, his interests, and step down from the post of *wizarat.* He therefore decided to undercover dealings by which he might get the *wazir* or the *Mir Bakshi* Killed.[53] By this timid behaviour he emboldened the Syed brothers to consolidate their power further.

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[52] Mohammad. Ahsan Ijad *Farrukhsiyar Nama,* f. 125a; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* II, p. 729-30.

[53] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., MS. ff. 30, 31.

Hussain Ali Khan's campaign against Ajit Singh in March, 1714, only a year after accession, afforded the Emperor a good opportunity for the realization of his designs. He urged the Raja to do away with Hussain Ali,[54] and in Delhi, he tried to divest the *wazir* of his powers. He put the royal seal in the charge of Mir Jumla and permitted him to appoint persons to administrative offices without referring to the *wazir.* He openly announced that 'the word and seal of Mir Jumla are the word and seal of the Farrukhsiyar'.[55]

Abdullah Khan expressed his resentment by stopping to attend the court. He took up necessary measures in the direction of his self defense.[56] The Emperor again planned to take away the life of Hussain Ali Khan by treacherous means, when the latter went to his majesty to present a gift on the birth of his child.[57] On another occasion, he ordered Islam Khan to blow the house of the Mir Bakshi by putting a canon it.[58]

The Syed brothers seemed willing to give up their offices and retire to their own home towns. They even asked his Majesty to send them to some distant places like Balkh for making new conquest or allow them migrate to Mecca.[59] The Emperor could accept any of these proposals and get himself relieved of the nightmare that was constantly oppressing him. But he aimed nothing less than their complete extermination and

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[54] Mohammad. Shafi Warid, *Mirat-i-Waridat,* MS. p. 509.
[55] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* II, p. 739.
[56] Kamraj, *Ibrat Nama,* f. 56a.
[57] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., MS. f. 32a
[58] Mohammad. Qasim Aurangabadi, *Ahwal-i-Khawaqin,* f. 88a
[59] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., ff. 56b, 57a; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., II, p. 741

that he wanted to accomplish by artifice instead of a decisive trial of strength in the open contest.[60] Perhaps he dreaded that the Syed brothers, if turned out from the court with grace and accord, might champion the cause of a new prince. Lacking courage and confidence, he found himself unable to face such a dangerous situation that could arise from the removal of the influential ministers.[61]

The Emperor undertook several hunting expedition to sweep down upon the *wazir*, a net of intrigues was woven to cut his head off in the court or at *Idgah*.[62] To bring his project to a successful conclusion, he sought the assistance of big nobles like Mohd. Amin Khan,[63] Sarbuland Khan, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, Jai Singh and his mother tried to resolve the clash between Emperor and *wazir*. Some of them cherished the hope of receiving the key post of *wizarat* in return of his unreserved support.[64] But all of them were shocked to find that Farrukhsiyar had reserved the coveted rewards for Murad Kashmiri after, Abdullah Khan's was removal from office.[65] These preferences for Murad Kashmiri to other able nobles tend to explain his keenness to have a submissive *wazir* who could not assert his power. He apprehended that these noble like Abdullah, would claim a large measure of freedom of choice and action in the discharge of their

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[60] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., MS. f. 32a; *Ibrat Nama,* op cit., f. 57a.
[61] *Mirat-i-Wardat,*op. cit., MS. p. 507.
[62] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., MS. f. 35b, 95b,
[63] Hadi Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai,* MS. f. 385b.
[64] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., f. 94, 111.
[65] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., p. 242

duties and pursue a firm and bold course in the assertion of their privileges.

Farrukhsiyar recognized the dangers inherent in appointing such a noble to be *wazir* who helped the king rise to sovereignty. He was apparently not ready to walk in the way of Jahandar Shah, who having fully paid the debt of gratitude to Zulfiqar Khan allowed them to enjoy power undisturbed and maintained their position in spite of the pressure of opposing factions. But the issue at stake was how to keep leading nobles away from the centre of power, after exploiting their strength and resources in the war of succession. But his failure to adopt a firm policy paved the way for his tragic end, partly because of the breach of faith by those to whom he confined his secrets[66] but mainly for the want of force of character[67] and of suspicious nature. After the collapse of each attempt aimed at the destruction of these ministers the Emperor went out of his way to settle outstanding disputes with them. But every rapprochement was curiously followed by the renewal of intrigues.[68] This conciliation he used as mere subterfuge to cover a next step in his avowed programme. The treacherous technique, employed ceaselessly against the *wazir*, exposed him to scandal and dealt a severe blow to imperial dignity. It evoked misgiving and alarm in quarters of all the nobles.[69] When the Syed brothers showed

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[66] *Mirat-i-Waridat,* op. cit., MS. p. 511.
[67] Ibid, p. 506.
[68] Ibid, p. 517.
[69] *Ibrat Nama,* op. cit., MS. f. 111b.

their high handedness, no strong section of the nobility with the exception of individual came up to save to the Emperor.[70]

The deposition and the brutal murder of Farrukhsiyar was the most momentous event which established the ascendancy of nobles, particularly *wazir*, which led to an era of political tension and administrative Chaos. The reigns of further two puppet kings Rafi-ud-Darajat and Rafi-ud-Daula reduced the monarchy to mockery.

[70] *Mirat-i-Waridat,* op. cit., p. 511; *Ibrat Nama*, op. cit., MS. f. 103a.

Chapter-3

Mohammad Shah and his Nobility, 1719-1739

MOHAMMAD SHAH AND HIS NOBILITY – 1719-39

Syed Brothers after the assassination of Farrukhsiyar first in the Mughal history who met the tragic end at the hands of nobles became more powerful omnipotent on 29th April 1719 in the Empire. They put on the throne two weak and sick rulers viz. Rafi-ud-Drajat and Rafi-ud-Daula for few months. After they planned to put some other prince on the throne, and their choice fell on prince Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, the grandson of Aurangzeb. He stayed with his mother, Qudsia Begam in the royal palace at Delhi in semi-confinement after his father's death in 1712.[1] His mother welcomed the offer and allowed her son to depart Fatehpur Sikri, where he was ascended on the throne on 28 Sep. 1719, with title of 'Abul Fath Nasir-ud-Din, Mohammad Shah Badshah Ghazi,[2] at the age of eighteen lunar years.[3] During this period theoretically king had enjoyed absolute power but in practice he was merely a puppet, and did not enjoy even the semblance of authority. The real power were in the hands of Syed Brothers. Who appoint and dismiss all public officials and to take decision about state polices.[4] The court politics was beset with problems, which had arisen in the wake of Farrukhsiyar's deposition and murder by Syed brother on 28th April 1719. The grim deed provoked a strong and spontaneous reaction among nobles and even amongst general public throughout the

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[1]Mohammad Ali Khan, *Mirat-i- Ahmadi,* Vol.II, P. 28
[2] Mohammad Ali Khan, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari,* P.186
[3] Shahnawaz Khan, *Mirat-i-Aftab Nama,* P.488
[4] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol.II, p. 842

capital, and its repercussions were soon seen together places such as Agra etc. Their total domination over imperial government, had reduced the King to a state of complete helplessness.

With the arrival of Emperor's mother Qudsia Begam at the royal camp near Fatherpur Sikri matter became worse as the feeling of dissatisfaction express, why the lady in secret consultation with the nobles, who were opposed to the Syeds. The centre of opposition was Quadsia Begam. She set her eyes on Muhammad Amin Khan, the influential noble Turani who used to believe that ability to rule was a hereditary talent possessed only by the Mughals, who had once formed the core and the flower of the nobility. Hence the Mughal nobles and *mansabdars* had been marginalized from power and were living now in obscurity and distress. Therefore the present situation arrived he further convinced that their exclusion, (Turani group) from the power had undermined the distress of the Mughal dynasty,[5] and therefore he determined to end this state of affairs.[6]

He quickly acquired great influence with Qudsia Begam and the Emperor and became their sole guide and friend and persuade Mohammad Shah and his mother to take Nizam-ul-Mulk into confidence and enlist his support. Accordingly, the Emperor opened a correspondence with Nizam-ul-Mulk and explained him in a series of letters the purpose of their plans

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[5] Ibid, p. 905
[6] Ibid, p. 906

against the Syeds and also informed him about a scheme being prepared by the Syeds for the complete ruin of the Turani group. In one of the letters Nizam-ul-Mulk was urged to emancipate Mohammad Shah from the bondage of the Syeds. He was also assured that the Emperor and his mother had full confidence in him and regarded him as the defender of the royal house. He was told that the Syeds intended to destroy him (Nizam) after they had settled the scores with Girdhar Bahadur. In the letters the Emperor expressed the hope that Nizam-ul-Mulk would follow the tradition of his ancestors and would not fail in liquidating the hegemony of the Syeds. Mean while Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had crossed the Narmada on his way to the north on the orders of Syeds received another letter of the Emperor, in which he was advised to stay in south as his return to the north would be disastrous to him.[7] H e was further informed that the Syeds had instigated Husain Afghan of Qasur to cross swords with Abdul Samad Khan,[8] the governor of Lahore and a supporter of Turani's and that Husain Afghan had been promised the *Subehadari* of Lahore if he defeated and killed this veteran Turanin noble, all this was a part of their clever scheme which encompassed the ruin of Turani group as well as royal family. He therefore felt constrained to raise the standard of revolt.[9]

One hearing of the rebellion of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Husain Ali Khan *(Mir Bakshi)* decided to march to the Deccan with a big

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[7] Ibid, p. 850-52
[8] Shahnawaz Khan, *Masir-ul-Umara,* vol. II, 514-25
[9] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* vol. II, 849-52

army to suppress him. He planned to liquidate Nizam-ul-Mulk first and then to deal with other important Turnai nobles of Turani viz. Mohammad Amin Khan, Qamr-ud-din Khan, Abdus Samad Khan, Zakarya Khan and their protégés. Further were Nizam-ul-Mulk also kept in his service, Marhamat Khan, whom the *Mir Bakshi* (Syed Husain Ali Khan) had already dismissed from the *faujadari* of Mandu. But Nizam-ul-Mulk recommended the restoration of Marhamat Khan to his old rank and office.[10] Husain Ali Khan, new well that for the successfully check over the Maratha, it is necessary to govern Malwa personally.[11] He, therefore asked Nizam to relinquish Malwa and accept the *Subadari* of one of the province from Agra, Allahabad, Multan or Burhanpur.[12] When Nizam ignored the order, than Hussain Ali Khan, dispatched *farmans*, commanding him to quit. Malwa forthwith and present himself at the court. At the same time Dilwar Ali Khan deputy of *Mir Bakhshi* was asked to move further in South by crossing the Chambal, to threaten the headquarters of the governor. Alam Ali Khan, nephew of *Mir Bakshi* and his deputy in the Deccan were further ordered to move north to the bank of the Narmada with his forces to encircle Nizam.[13] Nizam held a council to consult his relatives and followers to find out ways this mounting threat. They all agreed that there was no other course but to stay in Malwa and to prepare for fight. In the meantime he also received

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[10] Muntakhab-ul-lubab, op. cit., p. 192-94
[11] Mehta Balmukand, *Balmukand Nama,* letter no., 15-16
[12] Mohammad Baksh Ashob, *Tarikh-e-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar-wa-julush-i-Mohammad Shahi*, f.96
[13] Mir Alam, *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, f. 96

another letter of the Emperor, which encouraged him to reach a final decision, and to resolve the Deccan problem.

Nizam-ul-Mulk having at once moved to the Deccan in May 1720 with a well equipped army of 14000 horse and foot.[14] He further strengthened his position by capturing the fort of Asirgarh Burhanpur though by bribe.[15] While Nizam-ul-Mulk was busy in setting the affairs of Burhanpur, Dilwar Ali Khan at the head of 40,0000 army man well supported by Rajput and Rohilla chiefs, in June 1720.[16] In the meantime Alam Ali Khan with a strong force of 30,000 started from Aurangabad to join Dilwar Ali Khan. But in June 1720, Nizam arrived at Phandhar, a hilly country, 32 miles from Burhanpur.[17] Where fierce battle took place in which Dilwar Ali Khan was shot dead and his army was completely routed and the Nizam got enormous spoil.[18] The news of this defeat, alarmed the Syed Brothers as their self-confidence was shaken, and their councils became confounded and distracted. As the family of Syed brothers was in the Deccan at the time, so that Hussain Ali Khan followed a double faced policy. On the one hand he tried to cajole Nizam by sending a *farman* conferring upon him the *subadari* of the Deccan with the instruction to furnish his family an escort so that they may not molested on the way.[19] On the other hand preparation were

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[14] Muneem Khan, Sawnih Daccan, f. no. 92
[15] Abul Faiz Mani, *Shah Nama-i-Deccan*,p.117
[16] Mohammad Bakhsh Ashob, *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i –Farrukhsiyar- wa- Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi*, f. 97a
[17] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., vol. II,p.874.
[18] For details of the battle vid, *Mirat-i-waridat*,p. 545
[19] Shiv Parsad, *Shah Nama -i-Manawwar-ul-Kalam*, f.396

pushed ahead for leading a grand army to check Nizam in the Deccan and therefore Alam Khan was instructed to wait his arrival.[20] But Nizam was too, shrewd as he took full advantage of the *farman* by giving it widest possible publicity, thus making himself legally constituted viceroy of the Deccan in the eyes of all and making Alam Ali Khan a rebel who was defying imperial authority by refusing to hand over charge to him. Alam Ali Khan had over confidence in his personal valour, so that he without waiting marched forward and met the forces of Nizam at Balapur. He too met the same fate and was completely routed in a battle at Shakar Kheda on 10 August 1720.[21] Thus successive military victories of Nizam, struck a shattering blow at the power and prestige of the Syed brothers. Husain Ali Khan was determined to lead an immediate campaign against Nizam personally.

Here it should be noted that the Syeds had all the time suspected Mohammad. Amin Khan of having secretly instigates Nizam and passing him all information and they considered him at the root cause of all the troubles.

So they were in dilemma how to deal with Amin Khan? If he was left behind in Delhi, he would be rebel, but if he was t asked to accompany the royal army to the South he would desert and join their enemy.[22] Husain Ali Khan decided to keep him in the camp where his activities could be closely watched.

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[20] *Later Mughal,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 35-36
[21] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II p. 886
[22] *Tarikhe Shahadate-i-Farrukh Siyar-wa-Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi* op. cit., f. 105a

He also tried to pacify, the Mughal nobles by honoring them, and making liberal payments to the Amin Khan's soldiers.[23] Haider Quli Khan another Mughal was appointed to the post of *Mir Atish* earlier held by Ghulam Ali Khan, a Barha Syed.

Mohammad Amin Khan was determined to strike a blow against Husain Ali Khan, as he was convinced that he will be spared, by Hussain Ali Khan.[24] He was of the opinion that if Husain Ali Khan could be done away the whole problem would be solved. He therefore secretly hatched a plot against the life of Husain Ali Khan. It had been arranged on the part of Syed brothers that while Husain Ali Khan would lead the campaign of the Deccan, Syed Abdullah Khan would stay at the capital to handle and the affairs, leading to the separation of both brother, Mohammad Amin Khan planned to exploit the situation and took into confidence some Mughal nobles of influence like Haider Quli Khan, Sadat Khan, Abdul Ghafoor and Mir Jumla etc.[25] Regular Communication were also opened with Mohammad Shah's mother Qudsia Begum through Sadr-un-Nisa. Amin Khan also made hints several times to Mohammad Shah in the Turkish language. In the presence of Hussain Ali Khan, who enquired about it? But Mohammad Shah informed that noble had asked for leave as he had pain in his stomach. In the other word's – assuring to that secret, as he was not unfavorable to the plot.[26] Mohammad Amin Khan secured the services of Haider Beg *Kashgari* to do the deed

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[23] *Shahnama-i-Mannuar-ul-Kalam,* op. cit., f. 456
[24] Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin, op. cit., f. 175a
[25] Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, op. cit., p. 903,905
[26] *Shanama Manawwar-ul-Kalam*, op. cit., f. 46b

and was promised rich rewards, if he survived and financial support to his family in case he got killed.[27]

In Sep. 1720, Husain Ali Khan with the Emperor set out for the Deccan on the pretext of paying visit to the Daragah of Kwajaj Moinuddin Chisti. The imperial camp halted at a place about 75 miles northwest of Agra. Husain Ali Khan and other nobles followed Mohammad Shah as usual to the entrance of royal tent, made their bow and departed to their camps. When Husain Ali Khan returning to his tent, he was approached by Haider Beg who presented him a written petition of complaints against Mohammad Amin Khan. When Husain Ali engrossed in reading it, Haider Beg drew a dagger, plunged it into his body and instantly cut off his head. This was taken to the tent of Haider Quli Khan where Amin Khan was also present.[28] Mohammad Amin Khan made his way at once to the imperial camp and called on the Emperor to come out and take command of the troops, Mohammad Shah now showed some reluctance and wanted to avoid facing the skirmish. His mother, too, who initially supported the plan, was become afraid for his personnel safety. But the Turani group subdued the rebels and the task was over.

The success of *coupe de et al* brought a radical change in the basic structure of power at the Mughal court. Next day Mohammad Shah held a formal *darbar* in which Raja Mukham Singh, an officer of Syed's made submission on the insistence

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[27] Ibid
[28] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 904

of Amin Khan. He was promoted to the rank of 6000 with the right to beat kettle drum. Mir Mushraf of Lucknow, another Syed's chief was also presented in the *darbar*, many prominent nobles including Raja Gopal Singh Bhadurya, Churman Jat etc. submitted and reward many new appointments transfers where also made in the political set up.[29]

Raja Gopal Singh, Zafar Khan, Syed Nusrat Yar Khan Barha *faujdar* of Mewat presented them selves in court and were well received and promoted to the high rank. Dost Ali Khan, Abid Khan and Ghalib Khan, formerly superintendent of branding for the Emperor's own troops also rewarded and were promoted.[30]

But the fall of the Syeds was not yet completed. As Abullah Khan having raised prince Ibrahim to the throne and collected a large army and marched from Delhi.[31] In this dangerous crisis Mohammad Shah turned to the support of loyal and friendly elements in the empire for military assistance. The Emperor issued *farmans* to Nizam-ul-Mulk, Girdhar Bahadur, Abdul Samad Khan and Raja Jai Singh to rally round the Monarch against Abdullah Khan.[32] The respond of the governors to Mohammad Shah's contained profession of loyalty, on one or the other pretext they kept away the imperial orders.

Only Jai Singh sent a force of 3000 to 4000 horseman under his *diwan* Jag Ram.[33] Later Mohammad Khan Bangash at

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[29] *Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin*, op. cit., f. 176
[30] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 910
[31] Hadi Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, f. 374
[32] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 43
[33] Satish Chandra, 'Raja jai Singh Sawai and his contribution to imperial politics, *PIHC*,1948, p. 187-88

the head of 2000/3000 troops and Aziz Khan Bahadur Chaghtai along with some Afghan chiefs also joined imperial army was petty official like Sher Afghan Khan Panipati, Byazid Khan Mewati and Kheme Jat, one of Churaman's officer also joined imperialist .[34]

At this juncture Abdullah wrote a letter to Mohammad Shah, in which he demanded justice according to the Holy Law. He referred to Mohammad. Shah as *Qibla* of the world and its inhabitant and prayed for his long life.[35] The Emperor replied, with extreme grief and regret another events and that culprits had killed the *Mir Bakhshi*. He also denied his involvement in these words "By God's name I swear that I knew absolutely nothing of this affairs.[36]

About Abdullah Khans preparation enlisted about new people in his army and raising Prince Abraham to the throne, the *Khutba* were recited and coin was issued in his name. After preparation he set from Delhi. However Syed Abdullah after announcing Prince Abrahim asking raised an army estimated to be more then one Lakh, but in his pride he refused to take any artillery along with him. While, Khafi Khan estimated Mohammad Shah army at less than half that of Abdullah Khan. On 13th Nov, 1720 both army came face to face at Hasanpur . A pitched battle was fought in which Abdullah Khan was defeated and taken as prisoner by imperial forces.[37] Later he

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[34] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 900-920
[35] *Shanama Manawarul Kalam*, op. cit., f. 54a
[36] Ibid, 55a
[37] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 921-34

was poisoned on the orders of Mohammad Shah under the pressure of Mughal nobles on 11 Oct. 1720. This ended the *wizarat* of Syed brother's.

Their greatest Sin was the assassination of Emperor Faruk Siyar which earned them a bad reputation. Never in the Mughal history, was such kind of heinous act done by nobles. Moreover the Syed's though warrior good commander but he failed as able administrator. Abdullah Khan putting Raja Ratan Chandra at the helm of all affairs who was known corrupt further damaged their reputation they were also not shrewd politician and the personal life style was also main reason to the down fall.

It is not denied even by those who are strongly opposed to the Syeds that they strove hard to maintain law and order and capabilities prevented a final breakdown of the administration.[38]

By concentrating power in their hands the Syeds sought to save the Mughal Empire from the process of disintegration, which had inevitably followed the accession of a weak or incompetent king. Simultaneously they pursued policies which if persisted, might have led to the development of a composite ruling class consisting of all sections in the Mughal nobility.[39]

They also brought face to face that the only a strong central government could keep the forces of disintegration in check. In the absence of a strong Monarch, a strong central

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[38] Rustam Ali, *Tarikhe-i-Hindi*, E. & D., vol.VIII, p. 42-43
[39] *Parties and Politics,* op. cit., p. 203

govt. could have been established by a *wazir*, if he enjoyed the support of powerful section of the nobility.[40]

The fall of Syed brother had freed Mohammad Shah from the tutelage of them, who had completely dominated the court politics, the crown and the court. Now centre of gravitation shifted form Syed Brother's to the Turani group. The re-institution of Monarch's authority by Turani group, brought hope that the stability and smooth function may led to price down, and revenues would flow into the royal treasury and arrears will be paid to the servants and all this would usher in an era of peace and prosperity.[41]

The Emperor rode in triumph through the street of capital, making a brief halt at the *shrine* of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki, and at the *wazir* Mohammad Amin Khan's house. He then entered into the fort, already vacated by the Syeds.

The Emperor held *darbar* in which large number officers paid homage and received rewards and tittles. In this *darbar* a declaration of general amnesty to all those who had opposed the Emperor was given to inspire confidence among all sections of he ruling elite.[42] *Farmans* were issued to all the governors, *Zamindars*, Chieftain and top ranking *mansbdars* etc to attend the court. Majority of them confirmed on their respective offices and even granted promotion in their ranks, land grant, robes of honour and gifts were also bestowed upon

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[40] Ibid, p. 204
[41] Z. U. Malik, *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, p. 75
[42] Anonymous, *Shahifa-i-Iqbal*, ff. 23-28

them. In this *darbar* on the request of Raja Jai Singh Sawai and Raja Girdhar Bahadur, Mohammad Shah ordered the abolition of Jaziya.[43]

The emergence of Turani group did not signify that they had acquired authority and dominance of the some kind as enjoyed and exercised by the Syeds. Nor they dominance over the ruling class than in the days of Syed. Even the Rajputs, Afghans, Shaikhs and Khanazad nobles, often differed greatly on matter with the Turanis. The structure of ruling class in its diversity and heterogeneity now correspondence to more closely to former imperial bureaucracy.[44]

The Turani group leader and *Wazir* Mohammad Amin Khan unlike the Syeds made no attempt to consolidate the exclusive interests of his own group and did not insist on assigning important and well paid job to his party members. He always paid respect to the royal will, even though king heavily leaned to execute Wazir's command and advice. The decision were taken by him only with the prior consent of the king. He always showed marked favour for Turani but he was honest and just to others.[45]

But Mohd. Amin Khan died on 27 Jan. 1721, after only three months in office and was buried within the premises of a school he had founded near Ajmeri Gate.[46] He was a capable person and did he best to strengthen the administration. But

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[43] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 934-35
[44] *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 76-77
[45] Mir Fatahullah, *Tarikhe Fatiah,* f. 132a
[46] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 939

he sudden death deprived the confrontation king another able administrator

After Mohammad Amin Khan's death Mohammad Shah again was confronted with the problem of *Wizarat*. The main contender of this post was Haider Qali Khan, Burhanul Mulk Saadat, Khan-i-Dauran and Surbuland Khan.[47] Shiv Das states that one group of nobles (Turani) wanted Qamr-ud-Din Khan to succeed his father, while other courtier pressed for the appointment of Khan-i-Dauran. According to Yahya Khan, Mohammad Shah himself was inclined to make Khan-i-Dauran the *Wazir* but the claim of Qamruddin Khan could not be ignored. Qamruddin Khan asserted that by the right of inheritance the post should be bestowed upon him. If he was considered too young to hold the post, than there was Nizam-ul-Mulk upon whom the high office could be conferred. In the words of Shafi Warid Qamruddin Khan even threatened for bloodshed, if the prize post went to a non-Turani.[48] The Emperor agreed on the proposal of Nizam, and a *farman* was sent to him to assume responsibility of *Wizarat* as he was the senior most competent amongst nobles and earned a reputation of a skilled commander able administrator and shrewd politician.[49]

On January 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk reached capital and enter in open chariot received by the general public who consider him as the sole saviors of the Emperor. On becoming

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[47] Mohammad Sadique, *Mirat-us-Safa*, f. 52a
[48] *Mirat-i-Wardat,* op. cit., f. 611
[49] Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-un-Mulk*, f. 131b

Wazir he found that the state of treasury is alarming and the *Jagirdari* system in total disorder.

People suffered heavily from the Price rise and unemployment. The alienation of *Khalisa* lands had brought about a perceptible fall in the revenues of the state, making regular salaries difficult.[50] The Emperor faced with imminent bankruptcy, led to sale of state offices to the highest bidder. Ultimately resulted that the *Mansabdar* and officers were by and large men of low caliber, incapable in executing government orders and managing their *Jagirs* in proper ways.

To restore the efficiency of the administration and to set the finances in order, Nizam-ul-Mulk put a number of proposal before the Emperor. His main proposals were: that the only fit nobles and soldiers should be employed, further assignment of *Jagir* should be stopped, more lands should be brought back under the *Khalisa* (earlier granted in Jagirs) and should be re-distributed; Farming overall of *Khalisa* land should be stopped; bribe taking inform of *Peshkash* also must be stopped; re-imposition of *jizya* would lessen the financial burden and lastly Mughal government should send a military expedition to the help of Sultan Shah Hussain Safawi who had been defeated by Mahmud Khan Afghan for the future safety of Mughal Empire.[51]

These proposal gained king's consent but the privileged nobles were afraid that the implementation of these proposals

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[50] *Shahnama-i-Manawar-ul-Kalam*, op. cit., f. 85b
[51] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 947

means deprivation of privileges.. The presence of Nizam-ul-Mulk at the court has posed a challenge to their interest and power. Hence all these elements joined together and prepared themselves to resist such kind of proposal. They were headed by Koki Jiu[52] and this new coalition against *Wazir* cut across old party lines.

This coterie included not only courtiers like as Shah Abdul Ghafur, Zafar Khan etc. but had the support of those dissatisfied Turani nobles like Haider Quli Khan and others who were erstwhile adherents of Mohammad Amin Khan. Even Abdus Samad Khan, who was related to Nizam by marriage, opposed the proposal of re-imposition of *Jiziya.*[53] Qamr-ud-Din Khan remained apathetic and indifferent, as he did not exert his influence to strengthen the position of his uncle Nizam.

Without an organized group of supporters no *Wazir* could get favour of the king,either to maintain his position or execute his reform measures. Mohammad. Shah, who had himself a weak monarch is formal consent to the proposals of Nizam, now rejected there on the pretext that the sale of offices, provided ready money. As regards to the re-imposition of *Jiziya*, abolition of *Ijarah* and grants of lands they ran encounter to the policy of appeasement of the nobles under where influence Mohammad Shah had always him complain demands petty and cheap politics.[54]

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[52] *Mirat-i-Safa,* op. cit., f. 52a
[53] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 949
[54] *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 85-86

Opposition group playing double game between Mohammad Shah and the *Wazir*, on one hand they spread the rumour that Nizam was busy in schemes to set aside Mohammad Shah and place another prince or Ibrahim on the throne, and other they approached the *Wazir* and suggested him that prince Ibrahim would do better than Mohammad Shah as a king. This game created ill will between the two and resulted in estrange relation between Mohammad Shah and his *Wazir*. Again suspicion and intrigue rift at the court, Nizam ceased to attend the court.[55] However these differences were soon patched up by Qudsia Begam a wise and capable lady. But main condition of compromise they immediate dismissal of Haider Quli Khan, whom Nizam considered the root cause of all mischiefs and troubles. He was immediately to be sent away to his province of Gujrat, which he had been neglecting ever since he superseded Raja Ajit Singh as its governor in Oct. 1721, he left Delhi in April 1722 with the relevance but showed and expressed his resentment by confiscating *Jagirs* of government in Gujrat officers and violated the royal prerogative by conferring *Khilat's* and *Paliki's* on his companions. He also distributed *Mansab* and privilege of keeping drums and standard. He also raised his army and were forced local Zamindars to pay extra contribution.[56]

The Emperor issued orders to the *Subadar* of Gujrat to desist from his activities, but he paid no attention. Then the Emperor appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk governor of the Gujrat with

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[55] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 946
[56] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, op. cit., f. 46

hate and jealousy had develop at large. His action in Gujrat and Malwa was deliberately calculated as personal gain and attempt to control all power in his own hand.[60] The Emperor was again made suspicious about *Wazir* and he therefore buried to reducing the power of *Wazir*. He immediately took away the province of the Deccan from the *Wazir* and appointed his own infant son Prince Shahryar Shah, there but not disturbing the *Wizarat* o f Nizam.[61]

Nizam-ul-Mulk consider it most dangerous for the empire, he was not willing to forgo for *Wizarat*. According to him Malwa and Gujrat with the Deccan form a single unit. This unit could be best governed from the Deccan and the peace and security of this unit depended on the Deccan. He feared that the transfer of the Deccan to feeble hand would facilitate its conquest by the Marathas and further would lead there in roads into Malwa and Gujrat. So that he considered the Deccan issue more vital than that of *Wizart*.[62] Therefore he in the Oct. 1723, Nizam sent his resignation and ceased to attend the court[63] and in Dec. 1723, he sought permission to go on a hunting excursion to his *Jagir* in *Sambhal* and Muradabad. He left Delhi in Dec. 1723 with his family, took different route which led to the Deccan and this made the court extremely uneasy.[64]

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[60] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, op. cit., p. 576
[61] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., vol. II, 137
[62] *Munshat-i-Musvi Khan*, op. cit., f. 95a
[63] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 951
[64] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* op. cit., p. 576

Mohammad Shah tried to open negotiations for compromise through Raja Gujjarmal Sexena, *Diwan* of the *Khalisa*. But his sudden death deprived of the opportunity.[65] As Nizam reached Aurangabad in Aug. 1724, and Prince Shahr-i-yar Shah had died, Mubariz Khan was appointed as governor of the Deccan to oppose to fight and kill Nizam-ul- Mulk .[66] He was granted of five lakh rupees and several lakhs from the revenue of the Deccan. Nizam tried his best to refrain from fighting but the newly appointed governor Mubariz was pressurized by his followers and for his own self-interest rejected the peace proposal. On 11 Oct. 1724, a severe engagement took place again at Shaker Kheda in which Mubariz Khan was defeated and killed.[67]

Nizam-ul-Mulk entered Aurangabad in triumph and exercised sovereign prerogatives by granting *mansab* of 4 to 7 thousand to his followers and titles another privileges such as of *Alam* and *Naqqarh*. In June 1725, Mohammad Shah finally accepted bitter reality pardoned Nizam, conferring upon him the governorship of the Deccan with the title of *Asaf Jah*. His *Jagirs* were restored but he was relieved from charge of Malwa and Gujarat.[68]

The departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccan marks the end of last his attempt to save the Mughal Empire from dissolution. He was one of the best grandees of the empire of

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[65] *Later Mughals,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 136
[66] *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, op. cit., vol I, p. 247
[67] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 950-60
[68] Ibid, p. 962

the powerful *Wazir* who sincerely tried to restore the past glory of Mughal. He put a number of proposals to maintain political status of the Mughal Empire, and dignity of king and the much debated re- imposition of *Jiziya* was purely for financial gain. In the circumstances he withdrew form centre like an ambitious nobles to the carve out of his own separate principality in Deccan. Which was the dream of many of the early nobles. Though later he again came to North India to save the Mughal empire from foreign invasion of Nadir. Shah in 1739, but he was not successful in this effort.

After a long struggle finally the post of *Wizarat* was conferred upon Qamar-ud-Din Khan on 22 July 1724 with a brief interval of Ghaziuddin Khan.[69] Here Mohammad Shah had to merit and outstanding ability and had made loyalty to the throne and submissiveness of temperament the criteria for appointment. The Emperor dislike the company of ambitious, assertive persons[70] and therefore noble lineage and loyalty to the Timurid house combined with modesty and culture ways inspired him to select Qamruddin a *wazir* who did not involve in court politics and the struggle between Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Emperor. He was able to get on pleasantly terms with men of the King's inner circle, which included diverse characters. He never tried to subordinate the imperial interest to his own purpose. He consider it is highest duty to strictly comply with

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[69] *Masir-ul-Umra*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 358-61
[70] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 458

Kings orders in all circumstances.[71] This enabled him to win confidence of the Emperor through out the period of his *Wizarat.* Unlike earlier *Wazirs* he did not demand *Subahdari* of any province in addition under him perhaps the office of *Wazir* lost its charms and the office of *Mir Bakhshi* became more effective. His authority and influence were curtailed by the dominance enjoyed at the court by Koki Jue and her clique. Zafar Khan and Koki jiue wielded more power in matters of appointment, grant of *mansab*, promotions and dismissals rather than the wazir and other officers. The Emperor hardly ever took a decision on any issue without consulting Koki Jiu and her cotri.[72] This group arranged money in the form of *Peshkash* from job seekers. The *Wazir* who never approved these methods of the king and his innercircle quietly shifted into the background and his control over the department was far from effective. This resulted in the rapid decline in the influence and power of the *Wazir*.

Though a number of officers were appointed during the period 1724-30 but it contains a very few *Turani*, except for the office of the *Wizarat*. This marked a definite shift in the policy of the Emperor towards the Turanai nobles.[73]

The members of Koki Jiu.[74] clique had made immense fortunes by speculation while the Emperor was in financial straits. He became suspicious about monetary transaction and

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[71] *Tarikhe-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar Wa Juluse-i-Mohammad Sahi*, op. cit., f. 67a
[72] *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* op. cit., vol. I, p. 252,53
[73] *Reign of Mohammad Shah,* op. cit., p. 93
[74] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 263-275

these were confirmed by the reports of auditors, which showed on an outstanding balance of Rs 30000000 against Zafar Khan and nearly the same amount against Abdul Ghafoor.[75]

On one occasion Koki Jiu went too far when she quarreled with the Queen. Mohammad Shah was so angry that he decided to take immediate action against every member of this group. Koki Jiu was so wise that she recognized the writing on the wall and surrendering her hoards of riches and silently quit the palace. Zafar Khan other member of group though paid back a part of the money, fell into disgrace. Shah Abdul Gafoor relying on the influences he had come to exercise as a *darvesh* at court chose to disobey and even slighted the Emperor in open court. Although *Wazir* Qamruddin Khan tried to persuade him to submit and save his position but he was arrested and imprisoned and crores of rupees were recovered from him. In this way finally Koki Jiu and her group was finally wiped out from the court by the end of 1734.[76]

During Koki Jiu's influence Khan-i-Dauran the *Mir Bakhshi* .[77]was also an influential and after her fall he filled up the vacant place of Kiki Jiu. He had won the favour of the Emperor and started influencing the affairs of the Empires.

Qamruddin Khan was by nature a peaceful easy going force, and remains isolated in the fast going situation which spelled danger for the Mughals. While Khan-i-Dauran was well equipped by training and the hypocritical temperament modest

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[75] Ibid, p. 266-67
[76] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* op. cit., pp. 602-605
[77] *Masir-ul-Umra,* op. cit., vol. I, pp. 819-825

appearance cultured and well done for the place he occupied in the Kings council.[78] The Emperor now consulted Khan-i-Dauran in all the matter of appointment and transfer. On his recommendation the Emperor appointed his brother Muzaffar Ali, the governor of Ajmer, and *Mir Atish* in 1725 and raised his mansab of 7000/7000.[79] Then strengthening the position of Khan-i-Dauran. As a *Mir Bakshi*, he got free hand in the appointment and promotion in Artillerymen. He was also made incharge of distributing the subsidies to Kabul, formerly performed by Zafar khan.[80] Which he never did again on the suggestion of *Mir Bakhshi* Sabuland Khan, the governor of Gujrat was replaced by Abhai Singh the later became a good ally of Khan-i- Dauran.

Khan-i- Dauran opposed to the military solution of the regional problems, and pleaded for the adaptation of a conciliatory attitude towards the refractory Zamindar and the Maratha. He openly criticized Aurangzeb for his failure to crush the power of the Marathas in the Deccen.[81] In pursuance of the same policy and as a leader of so called 'peace party' Raja Jai Singh Sawai in spite of his past failure as a general, was appointed once again the governor of Malwa in oct. 1732. In this way Khan-i- Dauran soon formed group of his own which consisted of Muzaffar Ali, Raja Abhai Singh, Raja Jai Singh Sawai and some other noble, and he assumed the leadership of this Indian element at the court against the *Turani Wazir.*

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[78] Mohabbat Khan, *Akhbar-i-Mohabbat*, p. 437
[79] *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farruk Siyar Wa Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi,* op. cit., f. 82a
[80] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., vol. II, 479
[81] *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farruk Siyar Wa Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi*, op. cit., f. 786

Qamruddin Khan, the *Wazir* was force by circumstances to safeguard his position and he had come forward to take an active part in the party politics at the Mughal court. He was forced to rally the support of the Maghals. Many members of his own family joined hands with other Mughals to form a group behind the *Wazir.* Apart from the Mughal elements Qamr-ud- Din Khan sought an alliance. Mohammad Khan Bangash, the Afghan chief and also established cordial relations with Sa'adat Khan Burhanul Mulk the powerful Irani noble.

3.1 Maratha Problem and the Nobility 1719-39:

After the assassination of Syed Brothers and accession of Mohammad Shah the Mughal empire was facing the great threat posed by Maratha under Peshwa Baji Rao I (1720-40). Under whose leadership had changed their former tactics of *guerilla* warfare and now operated over vast areas, fighting with large armies in open. The rapid expansion of Maratha power outside the Deccan revealed the weakness of Mughal Empire in political, militarily and administrative matters. Due to this weakness that the Marathas were able to over run the territories of Gujrat, Malwa and even threatened northern India.

3.1.1 Gujrat

The first Mughal governor to invite the Maratha to help him against imperial authority was Hamid Khan, the r governor of Gujrat. He agreed to pay *Chauth* of *pargana* north of *Mahi*

river to Kantaji Kadam and South of that river to Pilaji Gaekwed.[82]

Nevertheless the Emperor shocked to hear; this and he ordered to Surbuland Khan march to Gujarat and curb the disorders prevailing there. But he later showed no keenness to proceed and unnecessary a year and eight month to reach Ahmadabad in Dec. 1726.

Hamid Khan left the province without offering resistance to him and retired to the Deccan. Surbaland Khan, who was granted a huge amount of Rs. 9 lakhs to check the Marathas, due to gravity of Maratha incursion, too Sarbuland Khan made arrangement with Baji Rao in Feb. 1727 and agreed to pay *Chauth* and Baji Rao helped him to establish peace in the province.[83]

The Emperor considered it an act of disloyalty as well as of weakness. As a result he was dismissed from the governorship of Gujrat and Raja Abhai Singh was appointed in his place 1730.[84] He got financial and military assistance from centre. He entered in the capital Ahmadabad in October, 1730 and became after defeating to governor Surbuland Khan in military engagement.

Raja Abhai Singh relentlessly worked to hold back the Maratha and revive the vanishing authrority of the Mughals in the province. But he found it difficult to maintaine the requisite

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[82] *Mirate-i-Ahmadi,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 63-64
[83] S.P.D, XV, 84-86
[84] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, op. cit., vol. II, P. 118

forces at the different position for action. Finally he made an arrangement with Baji Rao, by which he promised to pay *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* on condition that no other Maratha leader would invade and disturb the peace of the province.[85]

The Emperor again disapproved of the agreement and deeply resented the breach of his trust on the part of governor. He consider to this treaty ruinous to imperial interest and a source of grave danger to the Mughal rule. However Baji Rao al so failed to check the annual incursion mainly led by Umabai, Pilaji and Damaji. Abhai Singh became convinced that he is unable to check Marathas incursion. Therefore he entrusted the administrative responsibility to his deputy Ratan Singh Bhandari, and retained to Godhpara his *Watan Jagir* 1733.[86] Consequently the Emperor dismissed him and appointed to Momin Khan.

It has become an established precedence in these years after at least in the regard to the government the new incumbents had to show his strength for taking the charge of his assignments so he too faced same problem in taking charge of governor Ratan Singh disobeyed the royal orders and took recourse of arms. Momin Khan enlisted the support of Damaji by promimising to assign him half of the revenue of Gujrat. Ratan Singh was forced to learn to leave Ahamadabad in 26 May 1737. [87] Maratha civil officers were posted in all the wards and the markets to supervise the tax collection and

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[85] Ibid, P. 133-35
[86] Ibid. pp, 142-3, 157-8
[87] Ibid,p. 219, 231

secure their half revenue. They imposed intolerable burden on the people in the areas of the city, which resulted three day riots in which residents rose in arms and used guns and swords. It was subsided with conciliatory efforts of Momin Khan. The Maratha promise not to violate the rights and peace of the people in the future, they were withdrawn from the riot-torn areas. And the people returned to their work, trade and industry. However in 1738 Momin Khan levied new duties on the citizens. As Raghoji did was not given half share of revenues as promised by Momim Khan. The Marathas forcibly realized their share with ruthless efforts, it resulting again clashes between the citizens and the Maratha soldiers, thus paralyzing the administration.[88] The situation forced Momin Khan and Raghoji to make fresh arrangements, which embodied the following terms.[89]

1. Revenue of the city equally divided.
2. Maratha have equal right to enter the city.
3. Merchants of both areas are allow to interchange.
4. Representative of equal number of both party at the court of justice.
5. Officers of both sides should sit jointly in the criminal and civil courts.
6. In the absence of Maratha troops no Mughal officers entertain the problem of Maratha area.

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[88]. Ibid. p. 250
[89]. Ibid. p. 251

The pact was made on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion

So Mohammad Shah saw no other alternative but to accept the hard reality.

This settlement was the first ever made by a provincial governor to be accepted by the central govt. Thus Maratha gained legal recognition of their new position as equal partners in the administration of province and its income.[90]

3.1.2 Malwa

The province of Malwa was a valuable, Mughal strategy and fertile area of the empire. As early as 1700, Martha obstructed the free passage of the Mughal armies, tresure and provision through in the province.[91] But with the appointment of Baji Rao as Peshwa, the political situation in Malwa underwent a great change. He got the revenue assignment by Raja Shahu and posted his loyal lieutenants for its collection.[92] His general launched campaigns during the year 1724-26. In 1727, Maratha chief repeated the attack, this time willy Mughal *Subedar* Girdhar Bahadur was ready to challenge him therefore Baji Rao made preparation for this bigger assault. This decision of Baji Rao promoted by the factor, i.e his victory over Nizam-ul-Mulk at Palkhed in Feb. 1728, and Raja Jai Sing Sawai's search assurance of neutrality in the Mughal Maratha conflict.[93]

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[90] *The Reign of the Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 124
[91] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., p. 516-18
[92] S.P.D, XXX, p. 3
[93] Ibid, XXX , 10;Rghuvir Singh, *Malwa in Transition*, Appendix 2, 109-207

Maratha organized a formidable expedition under command of Chimaji, Udaji pawar and Malhar Rao Holkar. Girdhar Bahadur, who encamped near Amjhera was suddenly attacked by Marathas, and Girdhar Bahadur and his cousin Daya Bahadur put up a heroic fight in which they lost their lives in Nov. 1728[94] The moral effect of this defeat was disastrous and the local *Zamindars* and other felt the utter weakness of the Mughal rule. Bhawani Ram who succeeded his father Girdhar Bahadur as a governor, found the task very difficult and problem was further complicated by Syed Najamuddin Ali Khan, whom the Emperor had deputed to assist Bhawani Ram. The affairs of the province fell into confusion and disorder led to the imperial authority declined. Bhawani Ram was replaced by Jai Singh Sawai on 29 Nov. 1728. The Emperor instructed him to negotiate with Raja Shahu for a peaceful settlement.[95]

As he had been long in touch with the Poona court and have friendship with Baji Rao, and had neither supported Girdhar Bahadur nor Bhawani Ram, in spite of repeated appeals of the Emperor as he was an ally to Khan-e-Dauran the leader of peaae party.[96] In hope of securing *Subedari* of Malwa. As a governor of Malwa he started negotiation with Marathas through his agent Dip Singh with proposal of 20 Lakh cash as war indemnity, a *Jagir* of 40 lakh in Malwa in lieu of *Chauth* and assingnment on the territory of Dost Mohammad

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[94] S.P.D, XXX, 17
[95] S.P.D, X, L.NO. 66
[96] Satish Chandra,'Raja Jai Singh and his contribution to imperial politics' *P I.H.C.*1948, pp. 181-87

Khan Rohilla, in lieu of that Raja Shahu agreed to abstain from aggression in the province .[97]However the term offered to Shahu was annoyed the Emperor and the negotiation failed. This led to the of dismissal of Raja Shahu and appointment of Mohammad Khan Bangash on 19th Sep. 1730.[98]

The new governor was an ally of Wazir Qamruddin Khan, follower of "aggressive policy" against the Maratha. But court politics proved obstacle in his plan and he never received the military and financial help from the court.[99] With his meager resources he successfully kept check on Maratha incursion 1730-32 and also maintain order in the distracted province.

Mohammad Khan Bangash was the opinion that if the Marathas not were tackled properly, they would invade Agra, Allahabad and the cities of eastern provinces and would plunder it.[100] He suggested to the king that the charge of Agra and Ajmer should be entrusted to Surbland Khan and Brhan-ul-Mulk respectively because of their devotion to the imperial cause and it would also strengthen the northern defense. His appeal produced no result and he in desperation turned to Nizam ul Mulk for help, in hope of making joint operations against Marathas. This meeting gave an opportunity to Khan-i-Dauran to convince the Emperor that both nobles are trying to overthrow the monarch and bring another prince to the throne. Consequently Mohammad Khan Bangash was dismissed

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[97] Ibid, PP. 181-87, 1948; *Malwa in Transition*, op. cit., p, 128-29
[98] Mir Waliullah, *Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad*, Ms.No., 39
[99]Bhagwan Das, *Aziz-ul-Qulub*, ff. 24, 40-1
[100] Ibid. f, 47

and again Raja Jai Singh Sawai was appointed as the governor of Malwa.[101]

The Emperor gave Rs. 20 lakh to Jai Singh to enlist troops. The Raja who believed in peace measures once again failed, however due to uninterrupted raids of the Maratha, he was forced to offer 6 Lakh in cash and 28 *Paraganas* in lieu of *Chauth*. The Maratha having subjugated Malwa, now describes their activities towards the northern side. Mohammad Shah directed to Wazir to march in person against the Marathas. The Wazir Qamruddin Khan accompanied by Zahir-ud-Daula and Feroz Jang. Later joined by Mohammad Khan Bangash set out from Delhi on 5th April 1733.

But Maratha returned to their homeland. In oct 1734, Maratha again crossed Narmada under Pilaji Jadav and moved towards north. The Mughal government organized two expeditions simultaneously under *Wazir* and *Mir Bakshi*. But both armies were returned without gain. Though Qamruddin Khan was successful but later he suffered a reverse near Narwar. He purchased peace on payment of 5 lakhes as tribute. *Mir Bakshi* Khan-i- Dauran too failed, he was joined by Raja Jai Singh, Raja Abhay Singh and Durjan Sal Hoda of Kotah. *Mir Bakshi* on the suggestion of Raja Jai Singh came to terms without fight the failure of these campaigns deeply

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[101] Ibid. ff. 47-48, other factors for disgrace was the complaints of *jagirdars* in Malwa and attack on Chatara Sing of Narwar who was protégé of Khidmatgar Khan,W.Irwin, *Later Mughal*,vol. II p. 255

disappointed Mohammad Shah and convinced that Malwa could not be reconquered from the Maratha at this stage.[102]

Therefore, the Emperor started direct negotiation with Peshwa,who demanded virtual control over Malwa, Bundelkhand, Bengal and the Deccan.[103] The Emperor rejected these demands and decided to make fresh efforts to resist Maratha. On the suggestion of Raja Jai Singh, Baji Rao decided to attack on northern India in 1736.[104] Baji Rao left Puna on 12 Nov. 1736, with a force of 50 thousand horses , he swiftly crossed the Malwa and entered into Bundelkhand. On receipt of this information, the Emperor ordered the *Wazir* and the *Mir Bakshi* both to stem the enemy's advance. Raja Jai Singh and Raja Abhay Singh, Saadat Khan has tended towards Agra to join imperial army. On March 12, 1737 Saadat Khan confronted with the Maratha (Malhar Rao Holkar) and forced them to retire and pursued them. In the course of retreat Maratha, suffered heavy losses.

Baji Rao then resolved to invade Delhi his surprised attack on 29 March 1737 at Kalka, six miles south of Delhi, the capita was saved by *Wazir* Qamruddin Khan by timely arrival from Agra. The Peshwa hearing arrival of *Wazir*, departed undercover of darkness in the night of 31 March 1737 in the battle followed Baji Rao was defeated. The two successive victory of imperial army against Maratha, explore the strength of Mughal army and weakness of Maratha in the open field. No

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[102] *The Reign of Mohammad Shah,* op. cit., p. 127
[103] V.G.Dighe,*Peshwa Baji Rao and Maratha Expansion*, p. 129
[104] *Malwa in Transition* , op. cit., pp.247

doubt this was most daring act of Peshwa but this defeat failed to force Emperor to accept his demand. On the other hand this gives a chance to the nobles, who insisted upon the use of force against Maratha, once again for regaining the possession of Malwa. This group of nobles also advised the Emperor to summon Nizam-ul-Mulk.

This led to the dismissal of Raj Jai Singh Sawai from governorship of Malwa. Infact, Emperor wanted to remove him from governorship early in 1733.[105]

Mohammad Shah appointed Ghaziauddin Khan governor of Malwa and Agra on 3 Aug. 1737. Further more the Emperor also directed to Nizam-ul-Mulk to proceed to Malwa.

Nizam and his son Ghaziuddin Khan proceed towards Malwa, hearing of this was Baji Rao left Poona for Malwa with a huge army. Nizam reached Bhopal and offer defensive campaign. The Maratha began harassing the imperial army. On 14th Dec. 1737 fierce battle was fought at Bhopal, in which Nizam suffered defeat, due to his suspicion of Rajput allies. [106] They were against Nizam, or were either with the Maratha or Amir-ul-Umara

Samsam-ud-Daula, a leader opposed to Nizam-ul-Mulk.[107] Nizam recalled his troops and opened negotiation with Baji Rao.[108] On 6th Jan 1738, both parties agreed on the term of the

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[105] Ibid, p. 225
[106] Y.Hussain , *First Nizam of Hydrabad*, p 123; *Brahmendra Suamicher Charitra*, (ed.) Parasnis, L.No, 33
[107]Ibid. p. 214
[108] S.P.D,(ed.)S.G.Sardesai, XXII,pp. 368-69

treaty Nizam ceded the whole Malwa to the Peshwa and recognized his Saway over territories between the Narmada and the Chambal, and also sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for Baji Rao as war indemnity. Thus defeat of the most powerful general in the empire, led to the Emperor to accept the loss of Malwa and Bundekhand and he also confirmed the agreement, as Jai Singh and Khan-i-Dauran had urging for a long time.

Chapter-4

Impact of Nadir Shah's invasion on the Mughal Court, 1739-1748

IMPACT OF NADIR SHAH'S INVASION ON THE MUGHAL COURT-1739-1748

A. North West under the Mughal:

The north-west frontier of India occupies a strategic point and an important position from ancient times. In the early period Mongol invasion were a lesion from this route and during the medieval period specially the Mughal emperor had built up military bases and diplomatic relations to ensure the security of the country against aggression beyond the Indus. The entire border was though inhabited by warlike clans and tribes who were generally poor, but whose normal condition both by tradition and circumstances was one of independence and defiance of the established authority. They carried predatory raids into the rich and vast plains periodically to relieve themselves from economic hardship. Mughals providing economic assistance in various forms to keep contented population of Afghanistan and tribal region. Gateway to India had already be well guarded and for the Mughals did their best but

after the loss of Qandhar in 1649, the Mughal interest in the western frontier diminished, but as new problem appeared with the rising of the *Afridis* and *Yusufzais* during Aurangzeb,s reign who keep a vigilant eye on the border and crushed the

tribal by diplomatic method of breaking two bones by knocking them together.[1]

Great Mughal Emperors repeatedly visited Kabul and Lahore and appointed worthy and able nobles as governors with large armies to implement his policies. A considerable amount had been spent from the central exchequer to maintenance the armies and for pacifying the tribal population. In this way Mughal policy had been successful in keeping invaders, to a safe distance from India. Initially Aurangzeb had appointed Maharaja Jaswant Singh as *thanedar* also as prominent for his role in the war of succession and after his death at Jamrud in 1678.Under Amir Khan (1678-1698) and after the death of Amir Khan, crown prince Shah Alam was given the task to check the frontier. Both of them fairly governed the provinces with tricks and diplomatic from 1698-1707.When prince Muazzam became Emperor Nasir Khan was appointed *Subahder* of Kabul, he continued to hold this post till his death (1719) and after his death his son entitled Nasir Khan was appointed. He was easily ruled the province and guarding the passes, as his mother belonged to Afghan race.[2] As he was simple and humble men his chief business was hunting and prayer. [3] Inspite of this he had made a proper settlement of the country and kept the roads in good order.[4] But he failed to satisfy local tribes without money, as at Delhi Mir Jumla, Khan-i-Dauran and other nobles were incharge to provide

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[1] J.N.Sarkar ,*History of Aurangzeb,* vol. III, p. 279.
[2]. *Masir-ul-Umara,* op. cit., vol. III, p. 833.
[3]. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 93.
[4]. *Masir-ul-Umara*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 833-5.

regular subsidy to the governor of the province, they kept the money in their hands.

But soon after succession of Mohammad Shah, Surbuland khan was succeeded to Nasir Khan in 1719, at the instance of Syed Abdullah Khan. The tribesmen were apparently disaffected and surprised to the son of Surbuland Khan by attacking on his army when he was returning from Kabul to Peshawar after conducting operation.

After the overthrow of the Syeds, Nasir Khan was restored. During this period cash payments were continued to be made for disbursements among the Hillman and garrison. But again on the restoration of Nasir Khan II, Roshanud-Daula the incharge of financial transaction began to misappropriate the money, resulting in deterioration of administrative system and resentment in army. Khan-i-Dauran complained to the Emperor about embezzlement of money by Roshan-ud-Daula. On charge of embezzlement he was removed from this particular job, which was later given to Khan-i-Duran in addition to *Mir Bakhshi*. But Khan-i-Dauran too failed to discharge his function properly. Nasir Khan's demand for money was disregarded due to political rivalry, as he belongs to Iranian group, to whom he wanted to discredit by placing in difficulties. Khan-i-Dauran convinced the Emperor that the money Nasir Khan will utilize to strengthen his own position and in collusion with Nadir Shah, he too might attempt to overthrown him. Thus for a long time no money was sent to clear the dues of the garrison at Kabul or to pay the

political pension of the hill men leading to the dissatisfaction of tribes.

However pressed by soldiers, another circumstance Nasir Khan II repeatedly wrote to the central government asking that out of the five years salary due to him at least one year should be paid to him so that he could satisfy his creditors.[5] *Ashob* writes that Khan-i-Dauran held the opinion that such communication were meant only to frighten the government on giving him large sums of money to enable him to have a free hand in local affairs and that the governor had magnified the dangers of the situation. He made favour of Nadir Shah's terrible invasion who was still busy in the suppression of Afghan in Persia.[6] With witty and flippant remarks he set aside the matter and prevailed upon the emperor to withhold payment of the governor. Even when letters of demand for money was read in the *durbar* no serious thought were given to contents by the emperor and on one such occasion Janish Khan, the agent of Nasir Khan II was taunted in public. Thus Nasir Khan lost all hopes of aid from the court returned to Peshawar and the soldiers and mountaineers reduced to dire straits abandonment their pots and resorted to highway robbery.

In this way possibilities to organize the visible mountain tribesman solidly against the invader have been lost.[7]

Anand Ram Mukhlis rightly observed that "If at this time a well appointed army under an experienced leader had been sent

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[5] *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 162.
[6] *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar was Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi*, op. cit., p. 275.
[7] G.B. Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, p.269.

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to the support of these hill men it was more than probable that Hindustan would have been saved".[8] Infact important change that took place in Asia with the decline of Safawid Empire, posed an opportunity to the *Ghilzai* Afghan to organize their power. In 1709, under the leadership of Mir Wais, they siege the fort of Qandahar, but final blow to the Safawid Empire was given by Mahmud the son of Mir Wais (d. 1715). He then deposed the Safawid Monarch and he had himself crowned. The Shah gave legal recognition to this transfer of power by conferring the crown of Persia to him. But Shah Sultan's third son Tahmasp Mirza and peoples of Persia were not willing to accept Mahmud's authority.

At this juncture Nizam-ul-Mulk as *Wazir* of Mughal Empire, had earlier suggested to the Emperor, to send a military expedition to the help of Sultan Shah Hussain Safavi, in his struggle against Mahmud Khan Afghan.[9] Instead the court sought to establish friendly relations with Mahmud at the cost of Iran.[10] Tahmasp Mirza set up a rival camp at *Ghazni*, proclaimed himself Shah and rallied under his banner the scattered forces of his father. But again was defeated and driven out from *Ghazni*. In spite of defeat he continued his struggle against the alien. Meanwhile Mahmud faced internal conflicts, and also foreign pressure of the Turks and Russian in the North Persia. Ashraf nephew nephew of Mahmud rose against him and after associating him (Mahmud) occupied the Persian throne on 22

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[8] Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Badai Waqai*, f. 5a
[9] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 947.
[10] L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, pp. 105-11.

April 1725. While the civil discord weakened the Afghan government the situation of Tahmasp Mirza greatly improved. He also won over his side Nadir Quli Beg,[11] whose fame as a general had spread for and wide. He had a strong contingent of *Kurds* and *Afshar* tribes. His ability and successful leadership soon elevated him to the supreme command of the prince's army. The prince appointed Nadir the *Qurchi Bashi* and bestowed on him the title of Tahmasp Quli. He defeated Malik Mahmud Sistani, the ruler of Mashhad on 11 Nov. 1726 and within three year he liberates Persia from the yoke of Afghan Monarch by 1729.

He also waged campaigns against the Turks and wrested for control over Azerbaijan and Iraq. Successful campaign made him popular and powerful. This led to Shah Tahmasp to raise his stature, so he decided to lead armies in campaigns on frontiers. But in the very first campaign he was forced to conclude a humiliated treaty. Nadir angrily denounced the term of treaty and declares his master unfit for kingship, therefore on 7 Sept. 1732 Nadir elevated the infant prince Abbas III to throne and himself become regent. As a regent he held in his hand the supreme command of military and political affairs of the kingdom. His campaign against Turkey and Russia during 1732-36, he added more provinces and made Persia a formidable power in central Asia. His countrymen found in him a hero and leader to wear the crown. Soon in1736 in a council of prominent nobles he assumed power of kingship and the title of Shah. After a short time he set out to conquer Qandahar, the last stronghold

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[11] For his life vide. L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London, 1838.

of Afghans, Hussain Sultan surrendered the fort on 25 March 1738 after a resistance of nearly one year.

B. Mughal court on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion:

While Nadir Shah was busy in conquering Qandahar, the gateway to Kabul on the road to India, the Mughal court was engrossed in factional and self-seeking politics. The three highest ministers of state were Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk (the *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*), Itimad-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Din Khan (the *Wazir*) and Khawja Asim entitled Samsud-ud-Daula Khan-i-Daurn (*Amir-ul-Umara* and *Bakhsi-ul-Mamalik*).Court politics ,group rivalries at the court on sectarian basis such as *Irani*, *Turani* and *Hindustani* led to the weakening of the empire

Financial bankruptcy of the Emperor, ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. Then they naturally turned to win the controlling authority at the Mughal court or in the provinces. This resulted in the division of nobility into *Irani*, *Turani* and *Hindustani* each group trying to push the fortunes of its members and hinder the other. With the growing challenge of Maratha invasion and other local rulers which led to the emergence of a 'peace' and 'war' party at the Mughal court led by the *Mir Bakhshi* Khan-i-Daruan and the *wazir* Qamar-ud-Din Khan respectively. At the same time relations between different ethnic and regional groups inside the nobility and the army tended to become strained.

The *Wazir* Qamar-ud-din Khan and Saadat Khan, the governor of Oudh were regarded as the two great patrons of the

Mughals at the court.[12] The Wazir had 5000 Turanis in his service, while Saadat Khan gave special preference to the Iranis[13]. But Qamar-ud-Din Khan and Saadat Khan also included Hindustani, in his services.[14] Roshan-ud-Daulah Zafar Khan, a noble of Turanian extraction consisted almost exclusively of Afghans and Hindustanis. The *Mir Bakshi* Khan - i - Dauran, another Turani, in his retinue admitted largely Hindustanis. Ashub complains that, Khan-i-Dauran hated the name 'Mughal' and upkeep and maintained of all that was purely Indian, whether Muslims or Hindu.17

During *Wizarat* of Nizam-ul-Mulk the bitterness of Mughals and Hindustani was found in dramatic expression in so called the case of shoe seller's riot in Delhi in 1729. The riot witnessed a struggle between the Mughals on the one hand and the Afghans and the Hindustani soldiers on the other.[15] These events continued to excite popular imagination but the other ethnicity was not the main causes of the party-politics at the court were the appropriation of the *Jagirs* and the profitable posts at the courts.

C. Nadir Shah's invasion and the nobility:

Nadir Shah's invasion was a logical development after the expulsion of the Ghilzai's and Abdalis from Persia. Only India could replenish treasury for a renewal of the war against the Turks. While the memories of Timur and Babar beckoned

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[12] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., p. 474.
[13] Ibid, p. 474.
[14] *Tarikh- i-shahdat-i-Farrukhsiyar-wa-Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi*, op. cit., p. 373-9.
[15] *Later Mughal* , op. cit., vol. II, pp. 256-63.

towards India, where territorial advantages might by gained without much difficulty. The weakness of the Mughal Empire was also not a secret at this juncture. The pretext for invasion was provided by the Mughal government's inability to prevent the influx of *Ghilzai* refugees.

After kicking out of Afghan from Persia, Nadir had sent Ali Mardan Khan Shamlu as an ambassador to India in 1730, to inform the Delhi court that a campaign against the Afghans of Qandahar going to led which may lead their fleeing towards India that frontier should be checked thoroughly for all Afghan refugees once the operations had begun.[16] Mohammad Shah replied that he had instructed to the effect to the *Subahdar*, of Kabul and Sindh and of army has also been reinforced for this work.[17]. The envoy was sent back with a gift of he four lacks in cash and valuable from the Emperor and three lacks from the nobles. After some time a second messenger Mohammad Ali Khan arrived bringing the similar message. The Mughal court again excused on the ground of Maratha invasion and repeated the last assurances.[18]

But in fact Mughal Emperor nothing had done but assurance were made. So when in 1737 the Persians invested Qandahar, many Afghan fugitives enter into India followed by the Persian army but as they have no instruction to advance further, they stopped. The Persian general complained to their master, Nadir Shah, who then sent the third envoy on 30th April

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[16] *Nadir Shah*, pp. 46-7; for text of letters, Ashub, op. cit., pp. 445-76.
[17] Ashob, op. cit., pp. 476-81.
[18] Ibid, pp. 484-508 (text of letters)

1737 in which he reiterated the previous demand for barring the passage of Afghan and further demanded one corer of rupees for failing to check migration of the Afghans. He also reminded of the annuity which Humayun had promised to pay.22

This demand of Nadir Shah put the Emperor and his advisors, in a quandary, various draft were prepared but no final reply was sent for forty days. Subsequently Nadir Shah sent another embassy to enquire about this problem but he too was also detained.[19] However *Ashob* explain reason for delay of envoy was first the inability of the Emperor to give satisfactory reply and second envoy's infatuation for a dancing girl.[20] When Nadir Shah got this information, he wrote a strong letter with protest against detention of his envoy and violation of promises by some leading men of Kabul on 3rd July 1738 who near Jalalabad, robbed and killed by local chiefs.[21] This events hardened Nadir Shah's determination to invade India, he made a fresh attack on Jalalabad and the city was massacred on 7th Sep. 1738.

As Nadir Shah expected long absence from Persia, and also a probable war, so he invested his eldest son Mirza Reza Quli with the crown of the deputy king of Persia (3rd Nov. 1738). However the causes for invasion lay in the political and economic factors.[22] The demand to control Afghans refugee his declaration

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[19] G.S. Cheema, *The Forgotten Mughal*, p. 186.
[20] Ashob, op. cit., ii, p. 81.
[21] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 320.
[22] *The First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 186.

to save the Mughal Emperor from the Marathas were only pretext for invasion.[23]

This led to the common believe that Nadir Shah was invited by the 'Mughal party' and in particular by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadat Khan. When the news of Nadir Shah's advancement to the Punjab was announced at court, each party (Turani and Hindustani) accused each other of having invited the invader. This crisis clearly unfolded in two contemporary partisan works the *Hikayat-i-Fateh Nadir Shah* and the *Jauhar-i-Samsam* written by the protégés of the Nizam and Samsam-ud-Daula. They extol the virtues of their patron and to expose the intrigues of their rivals throughout Nadir Shah's stay in India. In this atmosphere contemporary writer were unable to find the truth. Even Rustam Ali Khan, who was not a partisan, led us to believe that Nadir Shah invaded at the instigation of Nizam and Saadat Khan both.[24] Hanway gave a greater emphasis on the economic causes; he denied that Nadir Shah needs such instrument for the execution of his ambitious design.[25]

However it cannot be definitely established in the absence of contemporary sources, that Nadir Shah was invaded on the invitation of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadat Khan.

At Jalalabad, Nadir Shah received the reports about Nasir Khan, who had placed a force of 20,000 comprised mainly of Afghan and the Kashmiri's in the *Khaibar* pass to block the

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[23] James Fraeser, *The History Nadir Shah*, p. 138

[24] Hikayat, 2a-4a; Jauhar, 2a; Rustam Ali in E & D, VIII, p. 60 (he used the word, most people thought).

[25] *The First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 186.

advance of the Persians.[26]In Nov. 1738, Nadir Shah made a surprise attack on Nasir Khan's forces, here a stiff fight took place in which Nasir Khan was wounded and captured.[27] Nadir further move forward, at Yaminabad he received the news that Zakariya Khan, governor of the *Punjab*, was fortifying the bank of the Ravi to the north of the city against *Attack*. The Persian *Wazir* wrote letter to Zakariya Khan advised him to withdraw and come under the protection of the Persians. However the governor continued his preparation for defense, and even he sent Abdul Baaqi Khan with message to Delhi, and urged the government officials to dispatch immediate reinforcement.[28] On 10 Jan. 1739 Nadir Shah advanced from Yaminabad to Lahore, he avoid the defenses at Ravi and drove back the *Zamindar* of Adinanagar who come to the aid of Zakariya Khan and soon come face to face of Zakaria Khan. In this fight Zakariya Khan suffered a reverse and his son escaped to the emperor to report the result of the combat. Zakaria Khan resumed hostilities but the battle turned against him and realizing devastation of the country, he opened negotiations with the Persian king. Nadir Shah received him graciously, greeting him as his son and permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore. He was also given *Chapkan* of gold brocade, a jeweled dagger and an Arab horse with gold embroidered Saddle and costly trapping. His son was granted a *mansab* of 500 in the Persian army.[29] Thus, Lahore was saved from devastation. Hence Nadir Shah

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[26] *Bada-i-Waqai*, op. cit., f. 10
[27] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 330.
[28] *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 165.
[29] Ibid, p. 166.

also restored to the Nasir Khan I to the *subedari* of Kabul and Peshawar.[30] In Delhi this news was interpreted as the treacherous acts of Zakariya Khan, as he was also Khurasani like Nadir Shah.[31]

On 2nd Dec. 1738, Emperor give order to three highest nobles, Itimad-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Din Khan (the *wazir*), Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah (the *wakil* or Regent) and Sam-Sam-ud-Daula Khan Dauran (The *Amir-ul-Umaras* and *Mir Bakhshi*) to set out against the invader and one corer of rupees was granted to them for their expenses. At Khan-i-Dauran's instance letters appealing for help were sent to Baji Rao and the other Rajput princes. But as the former was engaged in a campaign against Bassein, and no immediate response was came from him the Rajput Princes also showed disinterest in helping the imperialist.[32] Nizamul-Mulk had reached Delhi in April 1738 with the head of 5000-6000 horse a small part of artillery and 2000-3000 foot soldiers his best troops and artillery in the Deccan. Ashob's view is that a more compelling reason for sending back the army was the fear of Maratha incursions during his absence but it revived old misunderstanding between him and the Emperor. He was veteran of many fights, a man rich in the experience of life and an expert in diplomacy too. Another noble of the empire with prestige and large force was Saadat Khan the governor of Oudh. At the suggestion of Nizam-ul-Mulk, he was summoned from his

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[30]Mohammad Mehdi Astrabdi, *Tarikh-i-Jahankusha Nadiri*, p. 344.
[31] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 336.
[32] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol.iii,p.282

Subah.[33] On the issue for supreme commander of campaign, the nobles has not developed consensus among them. Perhaps Nizam rightly offered that prince Ahmad Shah should be nominated to the command of the armies. But this scheme was totally opposed by Khan-i-Dauran who demanded it himself. Finally they all agreed that the Emperor should be requested to lead in person.[34]

The army gathered by Qamar-ud-din Khan, the *wazir*, was 5000 Mughal troops; Sad-ud-Din Khan, the *Mir Atish*, mustered 3000 cavalry and 20,000 matchlock man and Khan-i-Dauran had two thousand (2000) horsemen of *mansabdar* and 2000 of in Indian troops twenty big *amirs* with his force, followed Khan-i-Dauran. Thus, the government was able to gather approximately two lakhs army men.[35] The army first encamps at Shalimarbagh near Delhi (Dec. 1738). They passed a full month here that was the month of *Ramzan* (fast), on 10 Jan. 1739 they began to March towards Lahore. On 18th Jan. they reached Panipat, here the king join the imperial army, with prince Ahmad Shah and nobles like Ishaq Khan, Amir Khan, Sarbuland Khan, Aghan Khan and Abdul Ma'abud Khan.

After a careful survey the Mughal commanders selected Carnal, 20 miles north of Panipat, as its northern side was protected by a thick jungle while its eastern side was covered by *Ali Mardan canal*, which could supply water; and it's extensive and open fields were suitable for cavalry. A mud wall was

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[33] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, op. cit., p. 287.
[34] Ibid, p. 287.
[35] *The Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 168.

constructed around the imperial camp on which the guns were mounted. A ditch was also dug around the wall which was filled with water and trees. With this preparation the nobles erected their tents and arranged their troops. According to Nizam-ul-Mulk the armies were placed all around the imperial camp in the shape of a ring.[36] Thus Khan-i- Dauran with his brother Muzaffar Khan took his position on the west, while on the eastern side stood Qamruddin Khan, while Nizam-ul-Mulk occupied the northern side of the field. Nadir Shah avoids to attack on the imperial camp and tried to fight in the open field. He planned to cut their communication with Delhi. On 23 Feb Nadir Shah encamped at the village Kunjpura, six miles north east of Carnal and west of the Jamuna.

On 24th Feb. Saadat Khan also joined the imperial camp, but his baggage was plundered and 500 camels were carried away by Nadir's army.[37]

At the suggestion of Nizam-ul- Mulk a council of war was held under the Emperor. Nizam-ul-Mulk was in favor of postponing the battle because he knew that the Persian conqueror was not an ordinary enemy against whom they had to contend, not mere a plunderer, but a leader of unshakable resolution who shaped his course with the sword.[38] He also thought that Saadat Khan's forces were in need of rest, as they worn out by one month's journey[39].But in the meantime of

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[36] *First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 189.
[37] *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, op. cit., p. 327.
[38] *First Nizam of Hydrabd,* op. cit., p. 189.
[39] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol . II, p. 343.

discussion the news of the disaster meted to Khan's forces was conveyed to him.[40] This angered him so much that he insisted an immediate action agasint Nadir Shah. Nizam-ul-Mulk and Khan-i-Dauran tried to make him desist from immediate attack.

They warned him that his military experience had been limited to fighting with the local *Zamindars*, over whom it was easy to obtain victory but it was difficult to resist successfully the attack of a great conqueror over like Nadir Shah.[41] But Saadat Khan paying no heed to their warning took permission from the Emperor and with one thousand horsemen and a few hundred foot, he come out of the imperial camp and without adequate artillery advanced against the Persian camp.[42] Soon he was lured away to a distance of two miles from his camp, where he found himself surrounded by enemy he sent message to the Emperor for reinforcements. In response of urgent replies, the Emperor asked Nizam-ul-Mulk to go to his aid, but the latter replied that as Khan-i-Dauran was *Mir Bakhshi* and the commander of right wing, he should advance to the assistance of the embattled general. The Emperor then ordered to Khan-i-Dauran, who immediately set out from his camp at the head of 8000 to 9000 cavalry but again without artillery.[43] As shrewd tactician Nadir Shah who was waiting for such a situation, did not allow the two armies to join. The battle started at 1 P.M. and

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[40] Ibid. II, p. 482.
[41] *First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 189.
[42] A.L. Srivastava, *First two Nawab of Oudh*, p. 61.
[43] *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 170.

by 5. P.M. the two separate forces were completely routed but the emperor and the *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* never come to their rescue.

Nadir Shah proved his masterly strategy, by separating, the forces of the two nobles from each other, and held the imperial army in trap before the guns.[44]

Saadat Khan despite heavy odds kept on fighting bravely till he was surrounded by numerous Afshar horsemen. His elephant was wounded and it got out of control and placed Saadat Khan into the Persian ranks where he was made prisoner[45]. Thus the fight at the right wing of the Mughal army ceased. Nadir Shah then turned towards centre, where forces under Khan-i-Dauran, fought bravely but accurate fire of *jazairchi* and as well as by that of the *Zamburak*, he was wounded severely and was carried back unconscious to the imperial camp.[46]

Now the only course that was open for the Emperor was to negotiate with Nadir Shah, Ashob accused to the vanity and rashness of Saadat Khan and the Mughal Emperor's weakness for the ruin of the Indian army at Carnal. He also adds that a vigorous counter offensive by Nizam-ul-Mulk and other Turani leaders with the rest of the army would have saved the day. Strong artillery and corps of matchlock man under Saadudin Khan and Qamar-ud-din Khan did not go into action at all.[47]

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[44] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 347.
[45] *Siyar-ul-Matakhrin*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 311.
[46] *First two Nawabs of Oudh*, op. cit., p. 68.
[47] *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi*, op. cit., ff. 210, 217- 218.

Abdul Karim writes that an arrow cannot answers a bullet. The Indian were too much depended on elephant, while Nadir Shah appropriately used fire arms to frighten elephant during the battle.[48] The Iranian fire arms was light and that more easily carried away, while Indian fire arms were heavy and cumbrous and of a more antiquated type, therefore, the fire delivered by them was usually slow and inaccurate.[49]

After this victory Nadir Shah as a skilled diplomat, had no intention of taking further military action. His main objective was war booty, so therefore he summoned Saadat Khan and inquired about the resource and the aims of the Mughal Emperor. Saadat Khan gave a diplomatic answer that "the Emperor's resources are vast, only one of these nobles come out to fight today and has gone back on being accidentally wounded by a shot. But there are many *amirs* and brave *Rajas* with countless forces still left". Nadir Shah asked him to suggest means so that he may get a ransom from the Mughal Emperor, so that he may return home and attack the sultan of Turkey.[50]

Saadat Khan advised him to call Nizam-ul-Mulk, the most influential and the foremost senior and wisest noble in the Empire. Next morning an invitation was sent to Nizam to discuss a settlement to general for a general peace. Emperor Mohammad Shah suspected about treachery and inquires about what step should take if treachery is committed? Nizam reply God and his Holy Quran between us. If there is treachery your

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[48]L.Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, p.138.
[49] J.N. Sarkar, *Nadir Shah in India*, p. 54-55.
[50] Ibid, p. 56.

Majesty should retreat to Mandu or some other fort, summon Nasir Jang from the Deccan with a strong force and fight the Persians.[51] Many of the Mughal nobles were against any negotiation with the invader. They advocated war instead of a humiliating treaty. But as an experienced noble Nizam, was fully aware about the lack of sufficient spirit and equipment to withstand the onslaughts of the Persian ruler.[52] He opposed to any plan of general action and persuaded the emperor in favour of a pacific policy.

Nizam-ul-Mulk set out for the Persian camp along with his nephew Azim-ul-Lah Khan Bahadur with full authority to negotiate. Nizam-ul-Mulk was well received by the Persian Monarch, who inquired about the reason for the Maratha incursion into North India and secondly why Delhi court adopted indifferent attitude towards the sovereign of Persia.

Nizam-ul-Mulk answered to the first question that "since a new group of nobles had risen to influenced his majesty, which had resulted in state matters. The advices of senior and experienced nobles like me were opposed and not acceptable to him. In state of helplessness, I left Delhi and retired to the Deccan.[53]

In response to the second question, again he emphasized on that the affairs of the government that going to be and ruin simply because of mutual to quarrels among the nobles and

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[51] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 353.
[52] *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 158.
[53] *Later Mughals*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 353.

therefore the ministers for the vested interest paying no heed on yours letters.[54]

After some discussion Nizam-ul-Mulk persuaded Nadir Shah to agree to the following conditions that the Persian army would not advance towards Delhi, provided an indemnity of 50 lacks of rupees would be paid to Nadir Shah, in installments, 20 lacks were to be paid immediately, 10 lacks at Lahore, 10 lacks at Attack, and the remaining at Kabul and also no territorial annexation will be made.[55] After this Nizam took leave from Nadir Shah who extended an invitation to the Mughal Emperor to dine with him on next day.

On the following day 26 Feb. 1739, Mohammad Shah accompanied by Nizam-ul-Mulk, Qamr-ud-Din Khan and Ishaq Khan (*ataliq* of Mohammad Shah) went to the Persian camp, Nizam-ul-Mulk instructed him that he would have to converse with Nadir in the Turkish language.[56] The Emperor was welcomed by prince Nasrullah; Nadir Shah also advanced outside his tent and took Mohammad Shah by the hand and leading him inside the camp. The Nizam, the *Wazir* Qamr-ud-Din Khan and Ishaq Khan were permitted to go enter the tent. During the conversation Nadir Shah asked questions to Ishaq Khan and was so much pleased with his intelligent answer that he pronounced him fit to be the *Wazir* of India.[57] After dinner Mohammad Shah returned to his camp happily. The situation took a new turn as

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[54] Ibid, p. 354.
[55] Ibid. ; 2 Crore as indemnity according to Ghulam Hussin, *Siyar –ul-Mtakhrin*, vol. II, p. 484.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

Samsam-ud- Daula Khan-i-Dauran's death placed the Emperor in quandary to whom, the post of *Mir Bakshi* conferred. Pressure was mounting as Nizam-ul-Mulk demanded the post for his son Feroz Jang as a reward of diplomatic achievement. On the other hand Azim-ul-Lah Khan, nephew of Qamr-ud-Din Khan demanded this post on the seniority basis. It is claimed that appointment on this post was formerly promised to Saadat Khan.[58] The Emperor, in order to resolve the dispute, conferred the post of *Mir Bakhshi* on Nizam-ul-Mulk, the eldest and experienced noble of the Turani family. This news of appointment, made Saadat Khan blinded by rage and he lost faith in the Emperor. To gratify his resentment he represented to Nadir Shah that he had made much low war cost and he could get a much bigger sum by capturing and occupying Delhi.[59] This suggestion excited Nadir Shah, as he was wanted as much as possible. So that he broke the agreement and called Nizamu-ul-Mulk, who was detained after arriving at Persian camp. A fresh demand of Rs. 20 corers of rupees as an indemnity and 20,000 troopers to serve under the Persian banners was raised. It frightened Nizam-ul-Mul and he tried to persuade the conqueror to moderate his demand and arguing that "since the establishment of Chaghtai dynasty up to now, 20 crores of rupees had never been amassed in the imperial treasury. Shahjahan with all his efforts could accumulated only 16 crores,

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[58] *The First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 193.
[59] *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, op. cit., p. 289.

but the whole of it had been spent by Aurangzeb in his long wars, leaving not a penny in the treasury".[60]

The request of Nizam had no effect on Nadir Shah and he insisted on the immediate fulfillment of his demands. He also built pressure on Nizam to call his master Mohammad Shah, so that matter could be settled. On receiving the message of Nizam, the Emperor set out for Persian camp, where he was also placed under custody. He was asked to write to the *wazir* to come to the Persian camp. Who was finally but forcibly brought by Qizilbash soldiers to the Persian camp.[61]

Now Nadir Shah dispatched Saadat Khan to Delhi, as the Emperor's representative and Tahmasp Khan Jalair as his own ambassador with full powers to take possession of the city and make arrangements for keeping law and order. They also brought letter of the emperor for Lutfullah Khan, the governor of Delhi, (who prepared for making a defense) make a peaceful surrender, resistance was not fruitless. When news of the surrender of Delhi arrived, then the two monarch set out for Delhi on 1st March 1739.

Saadat Khan and Lutfullah Khan advanced to Shalimar garden, north Delhi to welcome the monarch. The Persian Monarch expressed great pleasure on Lutfullah Khan's obedience and invested him a costly coat with his own hands.[62] Thus the decision under pressure to fill the vacant post of *Mir Bakhshi* led to the disaster of Delhi.

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60. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 484.
61. *First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 194
62. *Later Mughal*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 363.

On 9th March they entered Delhi and occupied Shahjahan, place near *Diwan-i-Khas*. Here at night he was severely reprimanded for Saadat Khan's failure to collect promised ransoms and even threatened for capital punishment. Saadat Khan, felt inability to collect promised huge ransom , and to avoid further humiliated and punishment, he decided to end his life by taking poison and died during the night on 9th March 1739.[63]

Next day was the feast of Id-uz-Zoha. In the morning the name and titles of Nadir was proclaimed from the pulpits of Jama Masjid. In the afternoon Nadir Shah visit to Mohammad Shah and precede demanded ransom. While this business was going on, suddenly rumor was spread that Nadir was murdered by a woman guard of the royal palace. The rumor provided an opportunity for hooligans and the people of city to arm themselves and thus began to attack the Persian soldiers. According to Ali Hazin 7000 Persians were slain while Abdul Karim states the figure was around 3000.[64]

When this news was brought to Nadir Shah he unsheathed his sword as a sign for the general massacre of the people, which began about 9 O'clock on 11th March and continued unchecked till 2 p.m., nobody dared to approach Persian Shah to ask for mercy. Then Mohammad Shah urged to Nizam and the *wazir* to beg from the victor to abate his anger and pardon his erring

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[63]. *First two Nawabs of Oudh*, op. cit. p. 74.There are other version for his death,He was died of his formal wound; *Masir-ul-Umara,* op. cit., vol.1st,p.427;He died severity of pain in his foot for some month,Yadgare Bahaduri(,E.and D).vol.viii,p.421;He died of a mortification in the foot(Brigg.vol.i p.429.

[64]. *Later Mughal*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 366.

subject. The Nizam read the famous couplet that now the dead should be ordered to become alive and then again be slain. After it Nadir was softened and he said: "I pardon in respect of the gray beard".[65]

In that span of four hours at least 20,000 to 40.000 men and women were slain indiscriminaly. Some writers give as low 8000 while Rustam Ali estimation is of 100,000.[66]

After it the agents of Nadir were sent to take a census of the houses and prepare lists of property. Then Nadir Shah appointed the Nizam the *Mir Bakhshi*, the *wazir* Qamruddin Khan, Azim ul-Allah Khan, Sarbuland Khan and Murtaza Khan to realize the money. According to Anand Ram, the area where the collection was entrusted to the Nizam and the wazir the people were treated humanely, as the Wazir paid great part of the money from his own pocket.[67] But in the other part and especially in that assigned to Sarbuland Khan, people were forced to comply strictly with all orders of Nadir Shah's officers. [68] Their money was taken away forcefully and they were ruined totally, many of them had taken poison and others stabbed to death.[69] A huge sum of money was also levied from the nobles and the governors.[70]

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[65]. *The First Nizam of Hydrabad*, op. cit., p. 195.
[66]. Persian Secretary, 30,000, Marathis news letter at 50,000 in one place and at other 3 or 4 lakhs, Harcharan Das, 1,00,000, Hunway, 110000.
[67]. Tazikirah(Elliot & Dowron), vol. VIII, p. 91.
[68]. Hanway, II, p. 383.
[69]. *Bada-i-Waqai*,op. cit., f. 20.
[70]. *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p.180. Following the list of nobles who paid money :

Besides this Nadir Shah seized the properties of Saadat Khan, Khani Dauran, Muzaffar Khan and other nobles who were killed at Carnal.

Mansabdars, who were having no money to pay due to the failure revenue collection in their *Jagir.* To escape from insult and torture, committed suicide. Among them were Allah Wardi Khan, the Qarwl Beg, *mansabdar* of 7000, Ghairat Khan Son –in-law of Sher Afghan Khan and Majlis Rai *diwan* of Qamr-ud-Din Khan.[71]

After it Nadir Shah invited the Mughal Emperor and his nobles in a grand *darbar*, and put the crown of Hindustan back on the head of Muhammad Shah and gave robe of honour and gifts to nobles. Mohammad Shah ceded the Trans-Indus provinces and Afghanistan to Nadir Shah. By the agreement the Emperor surrendered all the territories about Sindh westward of the rivers Attock and Sindh and of the Sanjar stream which flows from the Peshawar, Bangash, Kabul, Ghazni and the Kohistan,

S.No.	Name	Amounts (Rs.)
1.	Nizam-ul-Mulk	50 Lakhs
2.	Qamr-ud-Din Khan	30 Lakhs
3.	Muhammad Khan Bangagh	7 Lakhs
4.	Safdar Jang	1 Crore
5.	Raja Jugal Kishore Wakil of the governor of Bengal	7 Lakhs, 3000 gold coins and 7 elephants with gold trappings
6.	Shaikh Sadullah, Diwan-i-Tan	2.50 Lakhs
7.	Khushal Chand,Peshkar of Mir Bakshi	2.57 Lakhs
8.	Nagar Mal, Diwan-i-Khalsa	2.50 Lakhs
9.	Sita Ram, the Imperial Treasurer	3 Lakhs
10.	Annad Ram Mulchi	5 Lakhs
11.	Rai Tonda, Peshkar of Diwan-i-Tan – The Reign of Mohammad Shah, p. 180	2.5 Lakhs

[71]. *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-u-Farrukh Siyar w Julus-i-Mohammed Shahi*, op. cit., ff. 290-91.

Hazara, the fortress of Bhakkar and the province of Thatta.[72] Then Nadir Shah made preparations or departure and he left Shahjahanbadin1740.[73]

Officers Appointed After Battle of Karnal, 1739

S.No.	Name	Post	Mansab	Group
1.	Amir Khan Umadatul Mulk	*IIIrd Bakhshi*	6000/-	Irani
2.	Ishaq Khan Mutaman- ud Daula	*Diwan-i-Khalsa*	6000/-	Irani
3.	Azim-ul-llah Khan	*Sadr*	6000/-	Trani
4.	Murtaza Khan	*Mir Tuzuk*	-	Irani
5.	Nimat-ul-llah Khan	*Qarawl Beg*	-	Indian
6.	Hadi Ali Khan	*Darogha-i-Feel Khana*	-	Irani
7.	Salabat Khan	*Bakhshi of ahadis*	-	Irani
8.	Tarbiyat Khan	*Darogha-i-Torkhana*	-	Irani
9.	Hakim Masnsur Ali Khan	*Suptt. of Post Intelligence*	-	Irani
10.	Safder Jang	Governor of Oudh	-	Irani
12.	Asad Yar Khan	*Darogha-i-Harkara*	5000/-	Irani
13.	Sadud Din Khan	*Mir Atish, Khan-i-Saman*	5000/-	Turani

D. Court Politics after the Departure of Nadir Shah

Nadir Shah's assault resulted in setback and shock of disintegrating the Mughal Empire, but soon after his departure in

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[72]. *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 181.
[73] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., Vo. II, p. 317.

a short while its normalcy returned and in fact in everything appeared better and shows the progress and court politics started as before as Nadir Shah's invasion.78 Mohammad Shah turned his attention towards his own affairs. The Emperor realized that during the invasion of Nadir Shah the bitter factionalism and personal discords proved disastrous to the security and integrity of the empire as the Mughal nobles failed to forge a united front to repel the foreign aggression.

The irresponsible conduct of the Turani nobles shocked the Emperor and made him doubtful of their basic integrity. The prevalence opinion and at the court as well had also turned seriously against these nobles and their motives become suspect. But there is no concrete and positive evidence, direct or indirect to show that these two giant nobles (Nizam and Saadat Khan) had pre-determined plan to ensure the victory of the foreign invader.79

Under this the Emperor held this first public darbar the departure of Nadir Shah and made the following appointments.80

These appointments shows that the predominance of Irani group, who had secured nine of the most important post in the central administration. Turani group lost the favour of the Emperor and the Indian group had disintegrated after the death of their leader Khan-i-Dauran.

Now the Irani themselves rallied round Amir Khan' Umadatul Mulk son of Mir khan, the governor of Kabul (under of Aurangzeb) formulated a plan of building their influence and

promoting their interests. Amir Khan was neither a great soldier nor an able administrator. In fact he was a man of fine arts, worthy manners, eloquent and poetic speech with these qualities he was altogether a charming personality for king and countries to his own protégés like Mohammad Ishaq Khan Shustari[74] and Asad Yar Khan[75] both depended on Amir Khan's support.

Amir Khan induced Muhammad Shah to install him in the office of *Wizarat* in place of Qamr-ud-din Khan. Though the Emperor agrees with him but suggested that he should wait till Nizam's departure from Delhi, for the Deccan. Asaf Jah Nizam-ul Mulk left Delhi and encamped outside the capital for urgent business.[76] In the meantime Amir Khan's attitude toward *Wazir* was not pro his and he even passed derogatory remarks against him in private gathering. Naturally the wazir's suspicion was roused and he became alarmed at the impending danger. He immediately got into touch with Asaf, Jah, who suggested that he should take leave from the Emperor, as opposition to the king is neither prudent nor in his interest.[77] Qamruddin Khan joined Nizam's camp and from where he wrote that "I have not committed mistake, but the Emperor has become ill disposed towards him by the wrong and misleading reports. I had no intention to neither be disloyal nor do at present I think in these

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[74]. From Shustar, Iran, he was great confidnets of the Emperor, to whom he give sincere advice,Ghulam Hussain, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*,(trans.)vol. III,p.3,

[75]. Introduced by Amir Khan, 3rd June 1739, inspite of hostility of Amir Khan, he was kind for Amir Khan during his life and After his life.; *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*,(trans.) vol.III, p. 11.

[76]. *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 185,

[77]. *Siyar-ul-Mutkhrin*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 319.

terms, but unable to clarify put up by these rebuffs. Therefore, I join with Asaf Jah to the Deccan.[78]

This development surprised to Muhammad Shah who feared that the Turani nobles may create difficulties and even danger for the throne if they pressed further. Therefore the Emperor turned to Ishaq Khan, to whom he consider more honest than Amir Khan although he was protégé of the later or Irani group. Ishaq Khan above factional considerations advised that Qamr-ud-Din Khan and Asaf Jah should not be removed from their office because they were old and has a great respect among the friend and enemy alike. While Amir Khan and his friends were new combants, and lacked the prestige and such position.[79] In spite of all kinds of differences they still profess allegiance and loyalty to the Emperor. Therefore the Emperor should adopt safe and easy course of effecting compromising with the disgruntled nobles. Thus these advices changed the mind of the Emperor and who advised to Amir Khan and to that it is wise act and best policy to conciliate with them and you should also refrain from doing anything that may arouse their anger or hostility.[80]

Amir Khan sensibly adjusted, went to Nizam's camp and made apologies to him as well as to Qamr-ud-Din Khan.[81] Nizam not considering Amir Khan equal to his status forgave him and asked to quite the court, as differences between him and *wazir* will create problem. Accordingly Amir Khan after few months left

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[78].Ibid. Vol. II, p. 319.
[79]. Ibid., p. 320.
[80]. Ibid., Vo. III, p. 321.
[81]. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 321.

for Allahabad, and Nizam finally started for the Deccan in July 1740.[82]

On 18 April 1740, the sudden death of Ishaq Khan ruined the influences cause cause of Irani nobles and Turani's under the leadership of Qamr-ud-Din Khan tried to improve their position image and win the goodwill of the Emperor.

As governor of Allahabad near to Oudh, under the governorship of another Irani noble Safdar Jang tried to develop friendly relation with him and tried win over him to his own group. He described to Safdar Jang in glowing terms to the Emperor, suggested that he was best suited to be the governorship of Bengal, as that time the Marathas were threatening and invading eastern province of the empire. Since Alivardi Khan did not enjoy the confidence of the Emperor and he had delayed the submission of his predecessor's property for the *escheat*.[83]Taking advantage of situation Amir Khan wrote to the Emperor "that Alivardi Khan is entangled with the Marathas, and has no force to spare, he should order Safdar Jang to conquer Bihar for you, as he is a loyal servant and will pay the centre annual tribute of the province every year."[84] Muhammad Shah, tempted by the flow of revenue from the eastern province, accepted the proposal and issued a *Farman* to Safdar Jang, directing him to enter Bihar and Bengal with declared intention to assist Alivardi in driving out the Marathas.

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82. Ibid., p. 322.

83. Ibid., , p. 322.

84. *Imdad-us-Sadat*, op. cit., f. 33.

But luckily Alivardi Khan was able to drive out the Marathas and he wrote back to the Emperor that now there was no need for assistance. Safdar Jang finding no excuse to remain in that province and having received the emperor's order directing him to return to his *suba*.

The Emperor decided to call a council to discuss ways and means to check the Maratha raids, which had become an annual occurrence in the eastern and Northern provinces. In 1743 an imperial order dispatched to Amir Khan, Safdar Jang, Zakariya Khan, Raja Bakht Singh Rathor, Raja Dhiraj Swai Jai Singh and even to Nizam-ul-Mulk and other persons of distinction. But Nizam excused for himself on pretext of old age.[85] Safdar Jang made entry with special preparation at the head of 10,000 cavalry to made impact on the emperor and his court.

On June 1743 *Mir Atish*, Sad-ud-Din Khan too expired. The post was important as chief of the artillery, which gave control over imperial palace within the fort and consequently on the Emperor, mind. Sad- ud- Din's son Hafiz- ud -Din appointed on his late father's post but Amir Khan again persuaded the emperor to remove Hafiz-ud-Din in favour of Safdar Jang. The emperor, on 11 March 1744 issued order for appointment of Safdar Jang as *Mir Atish*, with additional charge of Subah of Kashmir, while Amir Khan secured the *faujdari* of Karnal.[86] Now Irani party regained its lost position and influence over the

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[85]. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 221, hold the vie that he consider himself enough powerful to decline going to the court besides it he resolved on conquering the kingdom of Carnatic.

[86]. Ibid. p. 223.

emperor, while Qamr -ud-Din Khan completely unnerved by the resurgence of Irani faction and he retired into the background.

Now Amir Khan interfered in all the matters of state and made suggestion on every issue and treated the king as puppet in his hands. Even he pressed for the dismissal of Roz-i- Afzun Khan the *nazir* and as emperor's refusal threatened him with gravest consequences. Therefore the Emperor summoned to his demands but he was tired of Amir Khan's overbearing ways. So at his instigation Roz-i-Afzun Khan sent an aggrieved servant of Amir Khan to stab him to death, on his way to *Diwan-i-Am* which was done in December 1746.[87] Amir Khan was a man of dignity and commanding literary gifts, impelled by high ambition to seek power. His death did not destroy the core of the Irani faction. Safdar Jang now became the head of this Irani group and give it a more confident and vigorous leadership. The Emperor appointed Mirza Mohammad Najm-ud-Daula, the elder son of Ishaq Khan to the post of *Diwan-i-Khalsa* with a mansab of 6000/6000 in July 1747 and the titles and mansab on his other brothers.[88] The court politics was now marked by the intense mutual rivalry of Qamr-ud-Din Khan the leader of Turani party and Safdar Jang the leader of Irani party.

E. First invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and Nobles.:

In his last days Nadir became increasingly distrustful of his Qizilbash officers, they had from the beginning constituted the core of his all campaigns but Nadir now felt that they harbored

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[87]. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit.,vol. III,p. 323.

[88]. Mirza Ali Iftekhar-ud-Daula, 5000/- and Mirza Mohammad Salar Jang with 5000/- mansab, *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i-Mohammad Shahi,* op. cit., f. 316,19.

intentions to supplant on the throne. Therefore he started placing increasing reliance on a new set of bodyguards composed of Uzbeks and Afghans. Among them was one Ahmad Khan a trusted and confidential slave. This suspicion evinced him more violent and blood thirsty disposition, cruelly finished hundreds of men for imaginary offence.[89] Nadir finally decided to liquidate all his leading Qizilbash officers as he believed that they were conspiring against him. Therefore he planned to summon them for a conference and put to massacre him by his Afghan and Uzbek bodyguards. But the report of a spy ruined the design, the two Qizilbash veterans, Muhammad Quli Khan and Salih Khan, resolved to kill the Nadir before they were attack. Soon in the night 19/20 June 1747, they rushed into the chamber of Nadir Shah and cut off his head.[90] Ahmad Khan became frightened and immediately left the camp for Qandhar, where was elected as the leader of Afghan tribesmen. His pir Mohammad Sabir Shah called him Durr-i-Durrani (Pearl of age) then Ahmad Khan change into Durrani (the Pearls). He immediately announced the independence of the Afghans from the subservience to the Persian government. Then he organized government and distributed gifts, ranks and robes of honour. In 1747 he formally crowned himself in a mosque and adopted the title of Shah.[91]

After establishing his government consolidating his power Ahmad Shah first invaded Ghazni and then proceeded to Kabul. He had captured Nasir Khan earlier after crowning, Ahmad Shah

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[89]. *Nadir Shah*, op. cit., pp. 487-90.
[90]. *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op, city p. 5
[91]. Ibid. p. 32.

released to Nasir Khan on condition of remitting 5 lakhs immediately to him. On his return Nasir Khan called a meeting of the nobles, but in this meeting it is declared that it was impossible to raise such a sum.[92] Then Nasir Khan discussed with the officers of Ahmad Shah Abdali and slipped to Lahore. Hayat-ul-lah Khan the deputy governor of Lahore refused to give protection because he was in secret correspondence with Ahmad Shah Abdali. Nasir Khan then proceeded to Delhi, where he was rewarded for his loyalty in 1747.[93] Ahmad Shah Abdali captured Peshawar and extended sway over adjoining districts.

Ahmad Shah Abdali hoped to capture Delhi with the support of Hyatullah Khan, which he offered the post of *wizarat*. He arrived at Lahore on 8 Jan. 1748 but for his surprise he found his Indian ally in the opposition camp for the defense of the city. It happened, due to the appeasement and conciliation by the Emperor and his *wazir* Qamr-ud-Din Khan. The Emperor conferred upon him the deputy governorship of Lahore and *wazir* had written a letter conceding all his demands and reminded him of his family traditions of loyalty and service to the Mughal throne.[94]

Ahmad Shan launching an attack on Lahore, he met the Indian troops led by Hyatuallah Khan under the walls of the city and defeated them. Hyatullah Khan fled from Lahore and Ahmad Shah entered the city without much opposition.

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92. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., vol. III, p. 253.
93. *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 192.
94. *Bada-i-Waqai*, op.cit., ff. 110, 120, 125.

On 22 Dec. 1747 Mohamamd Shah learned that Ahmad Shah Abdali had begun his march from Peshawar to Lahore with a strong force. Qamr - ud-Din Khan was of the view that emperor should lead the army as his presence with the soldiers would boost their morale and was imperative if the enemy was to be defeated and at least upto the Karnal and Panipat from where he (*wazir*) would lead the royal army. The Emperor appreciated the sound ideas but he felt unable to go as far as Karnal. So that he assigned supreme command to the *wazir* and gave him a sum of Rs. 60 lakhs for expenditure of the campaign. He was assisted by Safdar Jang (Subahdar of Oudh), Ishwari Singh son of Raja Sawai Jai Singh and Nasir Khan 11nd.

On 8th January 1748 the Mughal troops equipped with a park of artillery, started from Delhi. At Narola, 16 Kos from Delhi they received the news of the fall of Lahore. The *wazir* wrote a letter to the Emperor to send Prince Ahmad, whose presence may encourage the soldiers. The Emperor agreed and the crown prince left Delhi on 31 January and joined the Mughal camp at Sonepat. [95]

On 25 Feb. *Wazir* set up their camp at Machhiwara near the village Bharoli. Here *wazir* received the intelligence that Ahmad Shah Durrani had captured Sirhind.[96] At Sirhind Ahmad Shah got Mughal's treasure and stores.

The Mughal army under the command of Prince Ahmad March towards the village of Manupur. Where they set up their

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[95].Ibid. ff. 119a, 123a.
[96]. Ibid.ff, 124b.

camps and field guns were placed on mounds of earth.[97] Qamr-ud-Din Khan wanted to avoid battle till the increasing starvation in the enemy's may ensure his success. He sent riding parties under local chiefs such as Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala and Rai Kalha of Kot to harass the Afghans. On 11 March 1748, *wazir* pressed by Safdar Jang to fight an open engagement. Ahmad Shah used effective heavy gun to charge it on the Mughal camp. On Friday morning a ball from Afghan gun struck the tent of *wazir* and wounded him which proved fatal and he expired on the same day.[98] But before his death he urged his son Muin-ul-Mulk to lead the imperial army and fight to the last with all the strength and courage he had, "It is all over with me, my child but as the Emperor's work is still unfinished you must mount immediately and deliver the assault before this news spreads. The claim of the master's salt is above everything else, my business (Last rites) may be performed later". Muin-ul- Mulk mounted on the horse and addressing his late father's companion "whosever wishes to come with me to the battle field, whosever does not may return to his tent, for the fight is ruinous. As for me, as long as there is life in my body I shall with God's grace fight on"[99]

Then the Mughal and the Afghan fell upon each other and soon battle was raging all along the line. Raja Ishwari Sing, who led left wing, fought gallantly but they retreat.[100] Soon the Mughal army under Muinul-Mulk and Safdar Jang held on bravely

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97. *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op.cit., p. 195.
98. Ibid., p. 196, *Ahmad Shah Durrani* , op.cit., p. 62.
99. *Bayan-i-Waqai*, op.cit., f. 686.
100. *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op.cit., p. 63-65.

against heavy odds and stubbornly repelled the successive onslaught of the Afghans.

Safdar Jang's matchlock men firing *Jezairs*, he neutralized a force of 700 Afghan, who firing Shutarnals. Then the *Jezairchis* started pouring rocket fired several carts of powder and rockets on the Afghan side killing a number of men. This explosion set off the main artillery dump and killed 1000 Afghans. This shattered the Afghan's fate and who broke ranks and fled away.[101] Ahmad Shah sent message to negotiate terms of peace with the Mughal prince but the prince refused to make any settlement.

On 9th April 1748 a letter was received from Delhi urging the Prince to return and this courier conveyed the appointments of Mir Mannu to the post of *Subahdari* of Lahore and Multan and the order for Nisar Khan to the *Suba* of Kabul. The prince to hurry back to Delhi but at Panipat where he received that his father Muhammad Shah had passed away on 21 May, 1748.[102]

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[101]. Ibid. p. 67.

[102]. *Masir-ul- Umara,* op.cit., vol.IIp., 881; *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op.cit., 27th Rabisani 1161, 15th April, 1798 A.D.

Chapter-5

Nobility and politics during the reign of Ahmad Shah, 1748-1754

NOBILITY AND POLITICS DURING THE REIGNOF AHMAD SHAH 1748-54.

Emperor Muhammad Shah died on 25th April 1748, after dispatching letter to the prince Ahmad Shah at Panipat to hurry back to the capital. But while the Prince was on way, to capital he passed away. Those who present at the time were of the opinion to conceal, from the public news of the emperor's death.[1] But Malika Zamani sent a letter to her step son Prince Ahmad informing about the sad demise of the Emperor and hurry back to the capital. Who deferred his coronation till he reached Delhi. Safdar Jang announced the proclamation of his accession, and Prince Ahmad was enthroned on the same day and assumed the title of Mujahid-ud-Din Ahmad Shah Ghazi.[2] Safdar Jang held, over the prince's head the royal umbrella and also presents a piece of embroidered cloth him as *Nazar* and congratulated on his accession. Other nobles in the camp too followed suit. As the post of *wazir* was laying vacant since the death of Qamr-ud-Din Khan at Manupur, therefore the new Emperor as promised *wizarat* to Nawab Safdar Jang,[3] announced him as the new *Wazir.*

1.Anonymous, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, E &D, Vol. VIII, p.111.
2.Ibid. p.112.
3. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol.III, p.864.

Although Safdar Jang had been nominated to the post of *Wazir*, on the first coronation at Panipat, but the post had not yet been formally filled. He declined to accept the post of *wazir*, in the life of Nizam-ul-Mulk. So that the emperor and Safdar Jang, both wrote to the Nizam to come to Delhi and guide the Empire as its chief Minister.4

The Nizam excused himself on consideration of old age and ill-health and exhorted Safdar Jang to accept the office in these words "you are the most promising children of the time do whatever you think good for the interest of the state and bring in whatever you can, the Empire in order". 5

Although Safdar Jang continued to discharge the duties of Wazir, but in respect of Nizam he not openly assume the robse of the office even after receipt of the letter from Nizam, after whose death, the Emperor formally appointed Safdar Jang to the vacant post of *Wazir,* on 29th June 1748 and promoted him to be a *mansabdar* of 8000/8000 with the title of Jamat-ul-Mulk Abul Mansur Khan Bahadur Safdar Jang Sipah Salar.[4] At the same time he was also appointed superintendent of the private chamber (*Ghusalkhana*) and the governorship of Ajmer and Faujdari of Narnaul in addition of Oudh. His son Jalaluddin Haider was given the title of Shuja-ud-Daulah Bahadur and

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4. Ibid.vol. III, pp 868-69.

conferred the office of superintendent of imperial artillery (*Mir Atish*).[5]

Safdar Jang's utmost loyalty and extra courage displayed at the battle of Manupur (1748) for the imperial cause left a permanent mark on Ahmad Shah, Who showed his favour towards the Irani, also reflecting an aversion the Turani party.[6]

The new official appointments are also viewed as a victory of Irani group. Besides many member of Irani party were given offices of importance in the central government. For example Syed Salabat Khan Zulfiqar Jang was given the office of *Mir Bakshi* and the title of Amir-ul-Umara. The office of *Diwan-i-Khalsa* was bestowed upon Najm-ud-Daulah Ishaq Khan son of Mutaman-ud -Daulah Muhammad Ishaq Khan and brother in Law of Jalaluddin Haider the son of Safdar Jang.[7] Ahmad Ali Khan was appointed on the posts of *Arz-i-Muqarrar* and *Bakhshi* of *Ahdiyan*.[8] The post of *Sadar* was given to Abdullah khan.

Though the Turani party was marginalized but some offices of importance were given. The post of second *Bakhshi* and the *Subadari* of Muradabad were conferred upon

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5. Ibid.vol. III, p.883.
6. *Imad-us-Sadat*, op.cit., p.50;M.Umar,'Imad-ul- Mulk and his rise' *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal orders* ,Mansura Haider (ed.) p. 214.
7. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol. III, p.858.
8 .Ibid.vol. III, p.872.

Intizamud-Daulh. Sad-ud-Din khan retained the post of *khan-i-Saman* and Main-ul-Mulk confirmed in the *subahdar* of panjab.

While , Javed khan an ally of Safdar Jang got the post of superintendent of *Diwan-i-khas,* which carried with it the authority for permitting audience with the Emperor. He was also given another important post e.g. intelligence department, and caretaker of royal elephants. Due to his dominating influence over the Queen mother Udham Bai, he was given the lofty title of Nawab Bahadur, the mansab of 7000/7000, the highest honors of *Mahi-wa-Maratib*, standard, kettledrum and a fringed *Palki*.[9] Another eunuch Roz Afzan khan was elevated to the rank of 6000/4000.

After the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk and *wazir* Qamr-ud-Din Khan's the *Mahals* of both officers fell under the category of *Paibaqi* land. It was the prerogative of the Emperor to redistribute it, but against the established tradition the *Jagir* land of deceased nobles were divided between *wazir* Safdar Jang, Syed Salabat khan and Javed khan.[10] This was considered by Intizam-ud-Daula eldest son of Qamr-ud-Din Khanand Ghazi-ud-din Khan the eldest son of Niam-ul-Mulk, as an act of usurpation of his patrimony so these two nobles

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9.Ibid.vol.III, p.881

10. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op.cit., vol. I, pp.215-16

together with the other discontented peers became the enemy of the *wazir*.[11]

Besides the discontent amongst Irani and Turani nobles, the tussle for power between Safdar Jang and Javed khan also started. Due to influence upon Udham Bai and Javed khan exercise all political and administrative power passed into the hands of Javed khan and, both conducted state business daily. The officers used to go and sit down at their places, where they used to hold discussions with them, all petition read out before them and they passed orders, which were final. On this state of affairs contemporary historian exclaims that "Oh God, where Emperors personally had fought and *wazir* had day and night attended to state business, this eunuch ignorant of everything, who had never seen a battle in all his life nor even heard in his ears, now became sole ruler. [12]

In this state of affair Safdar Jang, the *wazir*, found himself in a precarious position owing to the constant interference and the powers wielded by Javed khan into the day to day administrative matters. It became impossible for the *wazir* to carry on effectively the affairs of state. His complaints against this state of affaire fell on deaf ears, the Emperor politely told the *wazir* that whatever he had to say,

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11. *Imad-us- Sadat*, op.cit., p.39
12.Anonymous, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, ff.17b,25a

he should say it to the Nawab Bahadur Javed khan, who would communicate it to him.[13] This reply filled the *wazir* with disgust and frustration.

On the other hand Turani nobles under Intizam-ud-Daulah, hatched a plot against the life of *wazir*, in the very first year of his *wizarat* (30th Nov-1748). Intizam-ul-Daulah concealed some light guns on the invisible roof of a house situated inside a covered passage known as *Chatta-i-Nigambodh*. Safdar Jang usually passed through it on his way to and back from the court. On the occasion of Id (1748)the *wazir* after the congregational prayer with the Emperor at *Idgah* and after conducting the later back into the royal fort, while returning, as soon as he reached the dark covered passage, the plotter's agents set fire to the arranged artillery. There was sudden explosion Safdar Jang's horse was struck by a bullet and fell down on the ground with its master, but the *wazir* escaped unhurt. This event created a misunderstanding between the wazir and the emperor, as the former suspected the latter's connivance at the Turani noble hostility, Safdar Jang feeling a danger ahead ceased to appear at the court. [14]

This gives an opportunity to Javed khan and Intizam-ud-Daulah to acquire supreme influence with the Emperor and

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13 .Ibid. ff.16a,17b.
14.Ibid. f.17b,18a

power at the country. Both impressed upon the Emperor that it was most convenient and suitable opportunity to strike a blow at Safdar Jang. Emperor Ahmad Shah, in alliance with the nobles of the Turani faction, began plotting to overthrow the *wazir*.[15] But Safdar Jang's strength was an obstacle, therefore the Emperor wrote a letter to Nasir Jang (the second son of Nizam) to immediate presence at court with as many troops as he could collect from his province.[16] Nasir Jang started towards Delhi with an army of 70,000 troops and large park of artillery in March 1749 but before he could reach Delhi the Emperor again foolishly directed him to go back to the Deccen. This was due to the preparation of Safdar Jang and Ahmad Shah Abdali's advance to India. Thus on that imperial direction Nasir Jang reluctantly returned to Aurangabad. After that Ahmad Shah along with his mother and Javed khan paid a visit to *wazir* and tried to convince him of his innocence about knowledge of the plots. The Emperor also promised to give the *wazir* his full support and confidence.17

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15. A.L.Srivastava, *First two Nawabs of Oudh*, p.133
16.Ghulam Hussain, *Siyar-ul-Matakhrin*,vol. III, p.850

(A) SECOND INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI AND NNOBILITY: (1749)

Ahmad Shah Abdali after settling the affaires in Afghan thought it to be a good opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of his previous defeat. Therefore he crossed the Indus at Attock and appeared again in the Panjab around 1749. The local Governor of Panjab, Muin-ul-Mulk hearing his advance, commenced his preparation for defense and proceeded north ward with his troops, at the same time that of the arrival of the Durrani, he was constantly sending request and news to Delhi and pouring in to the ears of the Emperor and the *wazir* for help and measures to check the impending attack. But no one thought of sending troops and money to assist the governor of Lahore. On the contrary *wazir* was a bit pleased to hear about his embracement and even was jubilant over the misfortune and problems of Muin-ul-Mulk was facing as he belonged to the Turani group. [17]

As Muin-ul-Mulk was not able to raise money from the disturbed areas, therefore he was waiting for money and re-enforcement from Delhi. Which infact never arrived, at last he was compelled to open his own personal treasure and paid to

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17. *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op.cit., p.76.

the army the arrears and bravely led a campaign against Abdali.[18] For sometimes few skirmishes continued between the two armies and no decisive battle was fought. The Afghans scattered themselves in all direction and began to plundering and burning the villages in the neighborhood of Lahore. After a month in such fighting with no hope reinforcement from Delhi, Muin-ul-Mulk sent an emissary consisting of Shaikh Abdul Qadir and Maulavi Abdullah with gift to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Who received them with all the honours due to an envoy and a *pir* and was also pleased to receive the vessels of gold and other costly presents. The term of peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both the parties. It was agreed that all the territories west of the Indus would be considered as forming part of the Afghan dominions, and that of the revenue of these four districts(*Chahar Mahal*) Sialkot, Aurangabad, Gujrat and Pasrur assessed at fourteen lakhs a year would be assigned to Abdali.[19] Which had been earlier ceded to Nadir Shah in 1739.[20]

The author of *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* mention that Muin-ul-Mulk had concluded this treaty according to the advice, and written instruction of his the Emperor Ahmad Shah and that

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18. *Tarikh-i -Ahmad Shahi*, Elliot & Dowson,vol.VIII, p.114-15
19 .Nizamud Din Ishrat,*Shah Nama-i-Ahmadiya*, p.120-3
20. J. Hera, Durrani's 'Influence in Northern India , *Islamic culture*, Oct. 1937, XIth , pp.498-506.

Nasir Khan was appointed to manage and realize revenue of these four *Mahals* and send yearly to Kabul.

Wazir Safdar Jang after the settlement with the Emperor, led an expedition against Suraj Mal Jat and Balram Jat, who openly defying the imperial authority and refused to surrender Faridabad, which was *Jagir* of *Wazir*. Hence Safdar Jang marched out of Delhi to suppress the Jats. At that time *Mir Bakshi* Syed Salabat Khan was at Jaipur to settle the succession issue of Jaipur arose after the death of Swai Jai Singh. It seems that there was a secret understanding between the *Wazir* and the *Mir Bakshi* that they should begin their campaign against the Jats from two different sides.[21]

But meanwhile Safdar Jang hearing of the defeat and death of Qaim Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad, left the subjugation of the Jats for future, and quickly returned to Delhi. Salabat Khan, the *Mir Bakshi* also returned from Rajpute expedition in Nov. 1749, as a ruined man and in economic distress his huge army was also not paid their salary for a full year and his soldiers daily dunned him for the arrears. His repeated request to the central government for help and assistance were not received favourably as imperial treasury had not the means, and finally Javed Khan did not want to help

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21 .A.L.Srivastva,*First two Nawabs of Oudh*, p.141.

him out of his difficulties. In disgust he shut himself in his mansion, dismissed his retainers and gave up visiting the court or doing any official business.[22] At last one day the Khan went to the palace and tried to make personal appeal to the Emperor but was stopped by porters. This led him burst into anger and he used abusive language for the Emperor and his base favourite Javed Khan. This led him to deprive from all his offices, rank and titles in 1751. His estates were confiscated and he was under house arrest.[23]

Javed Khan by his shrewd tactics planned that the *Mir Bakhshiship* be given to Ghazi-ud-Daulah and also *Subahdari* of Ajmer with the title of *Khan-i-Khanan*. Thus he played the trick of promoting Turani faction to check on the *Wazir* growing influence. As, Nasir Jang, the brother of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, was murdered the later was replaced as *Subehdar* of the Deccen with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk.[24]

B. WAZIR'S POLICY TOWARDS AFGHAN OF THE GAGETIC DOABS:

Wazir Safdar Jang's policy towards the Afghan of the Gangetic Doab was guided by personal motive though imperial interest was also there. Muhammad Khan Bangash, the

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22. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol.III, p. 40.
23 Ibid, p. 40.
24.Ibid, p.43.

founder of the ruling house Bangash Pathan of Farrukhabad, during the reign Muhammad Shah was the governor of Allahabad and Malwa. He was succeeded by Qaim Khan and the feeling of rivalry and enmity between Muhammad Khan Bagash and Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk was on cards.25

The estate of Qaim Khan on the West of Oudh further enhanced the danger from the Pathan, while the Ruhela under Ali Muhammad Khan had gathered enormous strength and usurped imperial territories in Ruhelakhand. During first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1748), Ruhela re-occupied the whole of Ruhelkhand from imperial officers. Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela succeeded by his son Sadullah Khan,who was too keen to re-capture imperial territory in Ruhelkhand but met with failure 1749. An appeal to use force of arms was the only course left to the *wazir* as an alliance between the Ruhela and Bangash pathan seemed most dangerous for the expansionist *wazir*. So the *wazir* by a shrewd stroke planned policy to reduce the Afghans by playing and using one against the other.[25]

In 1749, Safdar Jang persuaded Emperor Ahmad Shah to appoint Qaim Khan to the government of Ruhelkhand and call upon him to recover it from Sadullah Khan. The royal f*arman*

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25. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, f. 356.

together with the letter written by *wazir* was sent to Qaim Khan.[26] His demand to surrender of Ruhelkhand had been left unheeded by Sadullah Khan,leading to battle in 1749and death of Qaim Khan. Safdar Jang watched the contest with keen interest because he thought that which ever side gained victory, it would mark a decline in the Afghan power.[27] The news of Qaim Khan's death highly gratify to the *wazir*. He instigated the emperor to confiscate the decease's dominion and property in accordance with the well known Mughal custom (*Zabti*). Ahmad Shah approved the scheme and Safdar Jang was permitted to leave for Farrukhabad. Safdar Jang confiscated the estates of Qaim Khan, on the ground of escheat (*Zabti*). He then left this new acquisition under the charge of Nawal Rai, who was also his deputy in Oudh and Allahabad.[28] The Afghan turned against the *wazir* and in the battle of Khudaganj killed Nawal Rai. Safdar Jang attacked Qaim Khan, with the support of Surjamal Jat but he was defeated at Ram Chatauni on Sept. 1750 then the Bagash Afghan invaded Oudh and occupied Lucknow in 1751.

Safdar Jang with a view to retrieving his prestige and that of the empire, invited Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa

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26. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol. III, p.874.
27 Ibid,vol.III, p.874.
28 Ibid, iii, p. 875.

Sindhiya to help him in exterminations of Afghans from his dominions . Finally with the support of Marathas and the Jats, Safdar Jang successfully routed the Afghan's combined force of Ruhela and Bangash in April 1751.[29]

Safdar Jang has been condemned by few Modern Scholars i.e. Elphinston[30], Beveridge[31], Irwin[32] and Saikh Abdur Rashid[33] for his inexpdient measures of soliciting Maratha aid to crush the Afghans. This invitation laid open the doors for the Maratha leaders to carry their depredation to northern India for which they were waiting and led to persistently intermeddle with the affairs of Delhi.

(C) THIRD INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI AND IMPERIALPLITICS:1751

Due to internal dissension and the rebellion of Nasir Khan (incharge of four *Mahals* ceded to the Abdali), Muin-ul-Mulk was not able to send promised assessed revenue of fourteen lakhs to Ahmad Shah Abdali, so that Ahmad Shah had again invaded the Panjab in Dec. 1751. Mir Muin send message that Nasir Khan had carried away the revue and only one year revenue is due from him. He wrote "If that is your object, say

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29 Ibid, iii, p. 875.
30 Elphinston,*History of India*, p. 736.
31 H.Beveridge,*A comprehensive History of India*, Vol. I, p. 403.
32.W.Irvin. J.A.S.B., 1879, p. 85.
33.Sk.Abdur Rashid, *Najib-ud-Daula*, p. 21.

that, so I may send the money to you. If you want to fight, I am also ready[34]. Thus Shah cross the Indus, at the same time Muin started his preparation for war.

Mir Muin immediately dispatched message to the Emperor Ahmad Shah, requesting him to send reinforcements from Delhi. On receipt of the news of Ahmad Shah's invasion, the Emperor sends *farman* to *wazir* Safdar Jang to finish his expedition against Afghans of Gangatic Doab and return to the capital to meet the new danger. But as Safdar Jang was an arch enermy-enemy of Muin-ul-Mulk, he after winding the Afghan campaign, returned to his province Oudh.[35] As the invader progressed, the Emperor was sending urgent messages to Safdar Jang to come with all haste and make arrangements for checking disastrous advance of Ahmad Shah Abdali.[36]

In the meantime the battle between with Muin and Afghan armies, few skirmishes took place daily but none of them was victorious. Though the bulk of Indian army was routed but Shah finding Lahore strongly fortified and the defenders determined to fight, sent Shah Wali Khan with a letter to Muin inviting him to conference for negotiating

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34. *Ahamd Shah Durrani*, op.cit., p.104.
35. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, E & D, vol.III, p.121.
36. *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, op.cit., p.199.

peace.[37] Muin on receipt of envoy made up his mind to visit the Shah in person. He went to the Afghan camp with only three attendants and a eunuch. He was received by high ranking Afghan nobles and Ahmad Shah appreciated his spirit and bravery. In the following conversation Muin bravely and boldly answered to all the question of Ahmad Shah. Which highly impressed Afghan monarch and he was pleased with the fearlessness and straightforwardness of Muin. He embraced him (Muin) as a true soldier called him his son and granted the title of of *Farzand Khan Bahadur* and robe of honour.

In the course of conversation the Shah occasionally referred to his intention of marching upon Delhi. But Muin dissuaded him from connecting it into action claiming" if you turn your attention to Hindustan, I will be condemned as a traitor by one and all. Now that you have spared my life and called me your son, please do not think of invading Hindustan as long as I am alive. Or put me to death before your departure."[38] The appeal of Muin touched the heart of Shah and he gave up the idea of moving towards Delhi. At this time Muin paid twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Shah and promised to remit the four lakhs by the time he reached on the

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37 . *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op.cit., p.117.
38.Ibid . p.119.

embankments of Indus on his way back to Afghanistan.[39] A treaty was signed between Muin-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Shah Abdali, on the following terms:

(i) That the province Lahore and Multan were to be considered as annexed to the Afghan empire of Ahmad Shah.

(ii) Muin-ul-Mulk as usual to remain the governor of these provinces on behalf of the Ahmad Shah Durrani.

(iii) The internal administration was in no way to be interfered, only the surplus revenue was to be sent to the Shah and the final orders in the highest matter were to be sought from him.[40]

Ahmad Shah Abdali was also desired that the coin be struck and *Khutba* should be read in his name. But Muin-ul-Mulk respectfully appealed that it would introduce fresh complication which would difficult to solve. Shah understood the appeal and refrained from this innovation.[41]

Ahmad Shah sent his envoy to Delhi, to secure ratification of the Emperor. The envoy arrived at the capital on 1st April 1752, Ahmad Shah had sent urgent orders to his *wazir*

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39 Ibid, p.120.

40 . *Siyar- ul- Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol.iii.pp.326-27.

41. *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op.cit., p.121; Nizam-ud-Din Ishrat, *Namah-i-Ahmadiya*,p.162, Says that coin struck and the Khatba were read in the name of Abdali but it is not corroborate with other authority.

to hasten to the capital and urging him to bring with him Maratha forces at any price.[42] On 3rd April 1752, the *Wazir*, Holkar and Sindhia at Kannauj entered into a defensive agreement, whereby the Marathas undertook to protect the Emprie from the clutches of the Abdali invader and the internal foes. The agreement contained the following terms.[43]

(i) *Peshwa* should defend the Empire from his internal enemies as well as external foes like Abdali.

(ii) Emperor should pay 50 lakhs to the Marathas for their help, of which 30 lakhs was to be on account of defending from Abdali while rest of 20 lakhs for the help against the internal enemies such as Pathans etc.

(iii) In addition of it Peshwa was also given the right to levy *Chauth* from the Panjab, Sindh and the Doab.

(iv) Peshwa be granted the *Subehdari* of Agra and Ajmer, which he should administer on the traditional line of the Mughal rule.

(v) If the Peshawa could not come personally to serve the Emperor, he should depute his *Sardars* for the purpose.

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42. *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, op.cit., p.199.
43. *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op.cit., p.122; *First two Nawabs of Oudh*, op.cit., pp. 200-01.

(vi) It was too late for wazir who was desirous of seeing Muin-ul-Mulk permanently crippled and making the Emperor feel his court helplessness. While Emperor firstly decided to postpones the ratification of treaty till the return of *wazir*. But Qalandar Beg the envoy of Abdali pressed for an early reply. The Emperor also did not want to give any cause of offence to Abdali as the memory of an invasion of the capital before his eyes. Therefore the Emperor and his present ministers decided to ratify the treaty on 6 April 1752, Afghan envoy was granted leave to depart with a letter to Shah.[44]

Safdar Jang accompanied by a huge Maratha force arrived at Delhi on 5th May 1752. Here he learnt that the Emperor had ratified the treaty by which the provinces Lahore and Multan had been ceded to Ahmad Shah Durrani. Safdar Jang urged to the Emperor to recover the Lahore and Kabul with the help of Maratha and protested against disgraceful treaty.[45] But Javed Khan who was instrumental in the ratification of agreement opposed to the *wazir's* scheme.

As soon as the news had leaked out that the engagement with them was not likely to be fulfilled, the Marathas began to

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44. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol. iii, p. 889.
45. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, f.346.

plunder the villages around Delhi. Javed Khan was obliged to have recourse to an expedient of satisfying the Maratha claims and getting the court out of the difficult situation. He got Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Feroz Jang, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk appointed to the *Suba* of the Deccan on the promise to fulfill the financial obligation of the Marathas. Javed Khan paid Malhar Rao an additional sum of one lakh rupee from imperial treasury. Thereupon the Maratha left the vicinity of Delhi.[46]

At the failure of his plan, Safdar Jang ceased to attend the court and even did not enter the capital. But the Emperor was eager to satisfy him , therefore he sent words to return immediately to the capital. At this stage Safdar Jang demanded that(a) the remittance of two years due revenue from Oudh and Allahabad,(b) transfer of all *Jagir* Lands in his *Suba*,(c) appointment of Rajendra Giri Gosain as *faujdar* of Saharanpur and his favourite officers to Itawah and Kora. After the fulfillment of his demands, he entered Delhi with air of satisfaction.48

If the plans of Safdar Jang have been carried into effect,it had legalized the Maratha occupation of the Panjab and Multan under the suzerainty of the Emperor, after driving out Ahmad Shah Abdali. It further stipulated that half of the

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46. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol. iii, p.889.

revenue of the Panjab, Multan and the four *Mahals* Sialkot, Pasrur, Aurangabad and Gujrat was to be gained by the Emperor. The Peshwa appointed *Subehdar* of Ajmer and Agra in return of protection of the empire from foreign as well as internal problems. Safdar Jang also conceived the ambitious design of recovering Kabul and Thattah from the possession of the Afghans with a view to consolidating the empire.[47] It was a sound and sagacious policy of *wazir* in view of existing political circumstances.

Safdar Jang now realized that he was *wazir* in name. The authority and prestige of his office had passed into the hands of Javed Khan, who in alliance with Queen Mother thwarted all his plans.[48] Safdar Jang had a store of grievances against him, the eunuch including meted out to Salabat Khan in 1751 and invigorated his Turani adversaries by securing the appointment of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan as *Mir Bakshi* and conferring the *Subahdari* of Ajmer on Intizam-ud-Daulah. He was also responsible for the cession of the Panjab and Multan to Abdali and he ignored the Maratha alliance to oust the Afghans. So he decided to remove Javed Khan from his way.[49] Thus, he hired

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47. *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, op.cit., pp. 201-202.
48. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol.iii,p.889;Shahnawaz Khan, *Masir-ul-Umara*, p.30.
49 .The Emperor felt oppressed, so that he whispered into the ears of wazir to remove Javed Khan,Mir Ghulam Ali, *Imad-us-Sadat*, p. 60.

the service of Suraj Mal Jat to perform this job on 27th Aug. 1752 Javed Khan was treacherously murdered.[50]

D. Court politics after the death of Javed Khan:(1752)

Murder of Javed Khan enraged the Queen Mother and the Emperor and they became suspicious about the motives of the *wazir*. The Emperor now tightened his belt to oust the *wazir* and began to think of a strategy to work out his plan.[51] The Turani nobles headed by Intizam-ud-Daul were also aspiring to ruin the *Wazir* such an opportunity and made a common cause to supplant the *wazir.* With the death of Javed Khan, Safdar Jang adopted selfish policy to carving personal domination at the court. He appointed Abu Turab Khan *Qiladar* with the instructions not to admit anyone either armed or on horseback, except his own partisan. Raja Laxami Narayan was posted at the gate of the *Diwan-i-Khas* to restrict the admissions to the presence of the king.[52] The *wazir's* order were so strictly carried out that no noble or official, who were not his partisan, could get access to the king or even entered the fort.

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50 . *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op.cit., vol. iii, p.872.
51. Mohammad Umar,' Imad-ul-Mulk: His rise and Fall' *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders*,(ed.) Mansura Haider.
52. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, ff. 41a, 426.

Thereafter all appointments were made with the consent of the *wazir*. The *wazir* nominated several of his favourites to the important posts inside the fort. The four posts held by Javed khan was assigned to Shuja-ud-Daulah namely *Bakhshiship of Ahadis,* superintendent of confirmation of appointments, grants, command of macebearers and the charges of personal riding establishments (*Julau-i-Khas*). Other offices like the superintendent of drinking water for the king, betel leaves and perfumery were given to other trusyed nominee of *wazir*.[53]

After the death of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Feroz Jang on 29th Oct. 1752, Safdar Jang got his son Shihabuddin appointed as *Mir Bakhshi* with the title of *Amir-ul-Umara Imad-ul-Mulk Khan Bahadur* on 12 Dec. 1752.[54] Safdar Jang adopted Shihabuddin as his son, when Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Feroz Jang was about to depart for the Deccan, after the death of his father Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah in 1748. He entrusted his young son, Mir Shihabuddin in the care custody of Safdar Jang, to whom he treated as like his son. Thus, Imad-ul-Mulk professed to be *wazir's* partisans.

53.Ibid., f. 426

54. *Masir-ul-Umara*, op.cit., Vol. I,pp. 674-77; *Tarikh-I-Ahmad Shahi*, op.cit., ff. 426, 43a.

Javed Khan's murder proved to be a blunder for Wazir as the formers power did not beyond the *Qilai Mualla*. He wanted to remain the supreme and immediate power in the palace, he was soft to the Turani group just to keep the Irain faction under check but he did not allow them to grow so powerful that they could threaten him. But with the assassination of Javed Khan, there was no check on Turanis, who influenced upon the Emperor, and thus an open confrontation between Turani and Irani groups started.56

Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daula, Hisam Khan, Samsam-ud-Daula, Aqibat Mahmud Khan Kashmiri and some others including Imad-ul-Mulk were gradually won over, although the last named outwardly professing to be the *wazir's* partisans. But he secretly joined the conspiracy against his benefactor. They decided that firstly, they should liberate the Emperor from Safdar Jang's son Shuja-ud-Daula and his retainer Abu Turab Khan office (*Mir Atish)*, the *Qialdar* of the fort, thus initially ending *wazir's* hold over the fort and thenceforth the latter's dismissal. The King was also in secret sympathy with Intizam-ud-Daulah and assured him his assistance.[55]

After getting the support of Emperor, Intizam-ud-Daulah openly declared himself against the *wazir* and his

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55. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, ff. 46a, 47ab, 48ab.

determination to fight the matter to its logical conclusion. Seeing the centre of opposition opened by a big noble, so the discontented *Mansabdars* and officers who had been quietly waiting for a convenient opportunity now secretly joined Intizam ud-Daulah. On the instigation of Intizam, the Emperor dismissed Shuja-ud-Daulah from the post of *Mir Atish* and appointed his loyal partisan Hisam Khan Samsam-ud-Daulah in his place. Shuja-ud-Daulah's deputy Abu Turab Khan and Musawi Khan were turned out from the fort and Safdar Jang's house placed at the blank point of cannons.[56]

Emperor sent a message to Safdar Jang to hand over charge of the *Gusalkhana* and the artillery to the Turani's and retain the *wizarat* for himself. The *Wazir* expecting that the Emperor would be looking for conciliation, submitted his resignation from the post of *wazir* with request for permitting him to go to his *suba*.[57] The Emperor immediately responded that his resignation was not accepted but permitted him to proceed to his *Suba*.[58] The Emperor also sent *Khilats* of departure with permission letter but on the pretext of difficulty

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56. *Khazina-i-Amira*, op.cit., p.50
57. *Tarikh-i- Ahmad Shahi*, f. 60
58. Ibid,f. 48;J.N.Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*,vol. I, p. 264;A.L.Srivastava, *First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, p. 212; He was not granted permission to proceed towards Oudh. Zamir-ud-Din Siddique, *P.I.H.C.*, 1967, p. 200.

in collecting the required transport, set his tents at Wazirabad on the bank of Jamuna, north of Delhi.

Safdar Jang had made two successive attempts to arrive at reconciliation but unfortunately on both occasions he sent Imad-ul-Mulk,, whom he raised to *Mir Bakhshi*, the second highest post in the empire, as his emissary to Intizam's house to negotiate the terms. But Imad came to an understanding with his maternal uncle (Intizam) and though still professing be the *wazir's* followers. Intizam-ud-Daulah refused to visit the camp of the *wazir*.[59]

Realizing that the situation had gone beyond the stage of reconciliation, he decided to leave for his *Suba* Oudh. He was not at all willing to wage a war with the Emperor, he regarded it as an act of infidelity. But soon Surajmal and Salabat Khan instigated him with an appeal to his sense of honour that he had been checkmated by boys like Intizam and Imad.[60] This made him furious and he determined to avenge the insult he had been subjected. So that he decided to follow the example set by Syed Abdullah Khan, who had challenged the authority of his master. Safdar Jang now summoned Rajendra Goswain

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59. *The First two Nawabs of Oudh*, op.cit., P. 223.
60. *Tarikh-i- Ahmad Shahi*, ff. 46a, 49a.

and Suraj Mal for assistance, which came with 1500 horsemen.[61]

Emperor made last attempt to come into terms with the *wazir* but he demanded to kill Intizam and Imadeven had posted d two troopers to kill them but by chance they missed the target. Thus a struggle between *wazir* and Turani party was inevitable. The *wazir* gave permission to the Jats and Rajendra Giri to plunder the suburbs of the capital. Following this attack, the Emperor stripped Safdar Jang from *wizarat* and appointed Intizam-ud-Daulah in his place with the title of Itimad-ud-Daulah.[62]

Since civil war appeared inevitable, the Emperor sent letters to all feudatories to assemble under his banner against the ex-*wazir*. A large number of feudatories joined the Emperor's hand.63 Safdar Jang produced an unknown boy, claiming him to be a grandson of Kam Bakhsh and proclaimed him the new Emperor, under the title of Akbar Adil shah. He declared himself wazir and Salabat Khan his *Mir Bakhshi*.[63]

On the call of the Emperor, Najib Khan,[64] the Ruhella Chief, arrived with 2500 cavalry and infantry and joined the

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61. *Tarikh-i- Ahmad Shahi*, ff. 46b, 49a.
62.Ibid., f. 550a
63. Ibid.
64 .Harcharan Das,*Chahar Ghulzar-i-Shujai*,f.409b

imperial side, strengthening the position of imperialist. He was rewarded with the title of Najib-ud-Daulah and *mansab* of 5000/4000, [65] next for the two decades he was dominate the court politics. On the other hand Imad-ul-Mulk announced a bounty of 50 rupees one month's advance payment to anyone who deserted from Safdar Jang's army.[66] At this allurement about 23000 soldiers defected from Safdar Jang's army. A new brigde, known as '*seen dagh*' named after Arabic letter seen ( ), after Safdar, which was branded on their horse were constituted. This was the shattering blow for Safdar Jang and finally he lost the battle. This civil war dragged for seven month, much mischief and suffering was inflicted on both sides and the people of the region.

At last Ahmad Shah appealed to Madho Singh, grandson of Swami Jai Singh of Jaipur, as the greatest of his loyal feudatories to come and save him. Madho singh arrived Delhi on 15th Oct. 1753 and present in the *Diwan-i-Khas*, where the Emperor welcomed him and granted investiture with condolence on the death of his father.[67] Madho Singh set himself to making peace. As Safdar Jang's strength lay in the

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65.For his life,SK.Abdur Rashid,Najib-ud-Daula,Aligarh,n.d.
66.Ibid.p.Lvi
67.Besides economic allurement ,he call religious sentiments of Sunni and their family were threatened in the fort.Zameer-ud-Din Siddiqui,'Wizarat of Safdar Jang'*P.I.H.C.*,1967,p.202.

Jat army under Suraj Mal,who was a protégé of Jaipur and yet has not declared independent. Madho Singh therefore warned him to retire from his fight against the Emperor. After recognition of his usurped territory, he retired to his state. After a long negotiation a peace settlement was arranged between the Emperor and ex-*wazir* on 5 Nov. 1753. The emperor conveyed an imperial *Farman* with robe of honour and permission to retain his *Subahdari* of Oudh and Allahabad.[68]

As Safdar Jang was a total failure, partly by circumstances over which he had no control, and partly by his own limitations and moves. He had made numerous enemies within the court by policy of self-aggrandizement.[69] But he cannot be conjuring for disregard the interest of the empire. His self-aggrandizement was not at the cost of the empire.70 In fact he had to wade his way through an environment of suspicion, distrust, imbalance and instability and it was natural for him to continue to safeguard his position and power, while attempting to promote the interest of the Empire as well. Unfortunately he had a combination of hostile forces which undermined his constructive role, engaged his attention and thwarted his plans of setting the affairs of the Empire in right direction. He intended to infuse vigour into the administrative

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68. *History of Jaipur*, op.cit., pp.244-46.
69. *Imad-us-Sadat*, op.cit., p.63.

machinery, attempted to curb the insurrection and lawlessness of the Afghans to secure internal as well as external threat and with the support of Marathas he planned to reconquer Lahore and Multan. Though the alliance with the Marathas was not the ideal solution of the complex political situation, yet it was less harmful.[70]

(E) Court politics after the departure of Safdar Jang: (1753)

After the departure of Safdar Jang emperor Ahmad Shah become very happy and the occasion was celebrated with pomp and show. The new *wazir* Khan-i-Khanan Intizam-ud-Daulah and *Mir Bakhshi* Imad-ul-Mulk were honoured with the *Khilats* and the *Subahdars*, Rajas and military commanders were too rewarded according to their status. In a short span of time about one crore rupees were spent from the personal treasurary of the Emperor.[71] Thus immediate problem of the Empire was financial extringency, as the civil war had left the surrounding of the capital a waste. The crown estates (*Khalisa*) were in the hands of robbers. The war had exhausted the wealth of the Emperor who was overburdened with debt.[72] The most pressing creditors of the Empire were the Ruhela,

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70. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op.cit., vol.i,p.34.
71.Zameer-ud-din Ahmad,'The Wizarat of Safdar Jang'*P.I.H.C.*1967,p.203.
72.Ibid. f. 102a.

Maratha and, the *Badakhshi* brigade lured from Safdar Jang's army. The utter bankruptcy of the state treasury was added the jealousy between the *wazir* Intizam-ud-Daulah and Imad-ul-Mulk, the *Mir Bakhshi* bothclose relative. The problems appeared in-surmountable, when *Mir Bakhshi* was confined to his house by the soldier' s of Najib Khan for two days in Nov. 1758.[73]

Imad-ul-Mulk decided to recover those crown estates, which had been usurped by Jats and others. Imad's chief agent Aqibat Mahmud Khan opened the campaign in the Faridabad district, which had been usurped by Balu Jat. Imperial army under Aqibat Mahmud Khan successfully eliminated Balu Jat and established central rule. Then he took the possession of Ballabhgarh and he sacked many forts of the Jats all around the Palwal and brought them under rule. In short, most of the Jat homes on both banks of the Jamuna now fell into imperial control and rule was established even as far as Mathura, Agra, Koil (Aligarh) and Jalesar. Imad by one stroke established civil administration in all these long-disturbed places and induce the peasants to return their home. [74]

Since Suraj Mal had allied himself with Safar Jang and caused much devastation in the capital. Hence Imad with his

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73.*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op.cit., vol. I, p. 510.
74.Ibid. vol. I, p. 514

Maratha allies Holker and Jayapa led an attack on him Suraj Mal fortified himself in the fort of Kumbher. In the course of siege Khande Rao Holkar son of Malhar Rao Holkar was killed. This made frantic to Malhar Rao who vowed to extirpate the Jat in revenge. Imad condole Malhar Rao, with remarks "look upon me as your son". Emperor Ahmad Shah also sent robes as token of sympathy.[75]

In the prospect of long siege, Imad petitioned to the Emperor to dispatch cannons, heavy guns from imperial arsons. But on the advice of Intizam, it was not done. The argument was that it may strengthen his rival Imad. About this time Suraj Mal, who had escaped from the besiegers, begged assistance from the Emperor. Therefore Intizam planned that Emperor should set out to some nearby point like Sikandara, on the plea of hunting and visiting the state gardens.[76] But in reality he intended to meet Suraj Mal and Safdar Jang, to whom message was sent to come to crush Imad.[77] Meanwhile a peace was made, Rupram on behalf of his master, gave written bond to pay the Maratha 30 lakhs rupees by installments in three years. In addition to this the two karors,

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75. *The forgotten Mughals*, op.cit., p. 266.
76.On the plea of restoring peace and order, *Forgoteen Mughals*, p. 266.
77. *Khazina-I-Amira,* op.cit., p. 51.

which had been previously imposed by Imad as *Peshkash* to the Emperor, now agreed to be paid to Imad and the Marathas.

The Emperor's visit to the garden, resulted in a disaster, their arrival was noted by Imad. He sent Aqibat Mahmud Khan to the Emperor's camp to warn him that some Maratha cavalry had suddenly disappeared, without it being known that where they would reappear again. In the night Maratha under Holker discharged some matchlocks, and in the morning they were before the Emperor's camp. In the Imperial camp all lost their senses became confounded and the Emperor, Intizam and Samsam-ud-Daulah leaving their women and property ran away to the capital.[78] Holker entered the encampment and plundered much of the royal property and Malik-i- Zamani, Sahib-i-Mahal, Roz Afzun Khan and other ladies were captured by the Maratha. The women of have suffered extreme hardship.[79] When, Imad-ul-Mulk came to know of this, disaster of the imperial camp and maltreatment of the imperial ladies he felt ashamed and reached the camp of Malhar Rao Holkar for complain. Even Malhar Rao Holkar was not prepared for this treatment of imperial ladies. His pleading excuse for hardship is fallen on the imperial ladies.[80] Thereafter, Imad

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78.Ibid, pp. 51-52.
79. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, op.cit., ff 126a. 130a.
80. *Jaipur and the later Mughals*, op.cit., p.124.

went to the camp of Malka-i- Zamani, presented to her five thousand *Mohars*, laid his turban on the ground before her, tearing collar in grieve, crying, loudly with tears professing shame and disgrace to himself and pleading excuse. The ex-queen laid the blame on fate.[81]

On 30th May, 1754, Malhar Rao Holkar made certain demands, which Roz Afzun Khan recommended as the only means of saving the capital. Next day the news brought that Maratha had crossed the Jamuna. In fear Ahmad Shah wrote a *Farman* granting all demands of Holkar. But the Marathas continued to plunderg the Katra of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya's shrine and some other places. Imad on hearing that went to Malhar Rao Holkar and asked to stop from plundering the city. At his request Malhar Roa Holkar chastised the Maratha soldier and took them back.

It is evidenced from the course of history that Imad blamed Intizam for this unfortunate happening. So, his protégé Aqibat Mahmud Khan goes to the Emperor and secured his consent to appoint Imad-ul-Mulk as the *wazir* in June, 1754. At the same time Roz Afzun Khan was appointed on the post of

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81. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, f,130b.

superintendent of the Privy Council, thus depriving Intizam from both of high posts.[82]

In return Aqibat Mahmud Khan swore on the *Holy Quran* that Imad and Holkar would never play him false nor trouble him and his Kingdom in future.[83]

It is not clear when Imad made his mind to dethrone Ahmad Shah. He had taken into confidence Aqibat Mahmud Khan. He argued that the state had suffered a fatal misfortune and the apparatus of the state had been plundered and sacked by Marathas. So at this time it is best for the empire that Ahmad shah was to be relieved from the burden of the state. After that, he got consents of the jurists, to remove Ahmad Shah from this high office, in the light of *Holy Quran* and *Hadith*. On receiving a Fatwa from jurist, Imad dethroned to Ahmad Shah. Then Imad brought Prince Muhammad Azizuddin, son of Muizuddin(Jahandarshah) son of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Ist. In June, 1754 Prince Muhammad Azizuddin ascended on the throne with the title of Abul Adl Aziz-ud-din Muhammad Alamgir II (Sani).[84] Thus during the period under study the Mughal nobiltiy was at its lowest ebb. Self centre and vested

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82. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op.cit., Vol.i, p.543
83. *Tarikh-i- Ahmad Shahi*, op.cit., f. 143b; Imad also swear on Holy Quran that he would not practise treachery against him. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. op.cit., vol. i, p.543
84. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, E&D, vol.viii, p.141.

interest personal jealousy and never bothered to take care of the Empire. For there own purpose they invited foreign elements and internal rebels for short gains, which shook the Empire from its very base. In this way the leading factors for the downfall of the Empire can ascribed to 'Nobility' as it relates to the chance of bringing Emperor on throne creating trouble in Mansab, Jagir, competition each other and bringing into foreign and internal elements to work against the Empire.

Chapter-6

Alamgir II, Shah Alam II and Nobility, 1754-1761

EMPERORS ALAMGIR-II, SHAH ALAM-II AND NOBILITY (1754-1761 AD)

After the deposition and death of Ahmad Shah on 2nd June 1754, Muhammad Aziz-ud-din son of Muizuddin was ascended on the throne with the title of Abul-Adl-Aziz-ud-Din Muhammad Alamgir II.[1] He was an old man of fifth-six. He had been strictly guarded himself from vice and devoted himself to the study of historical books. His ideal hero was Aurangzeb, and tried to imitate him in religious out look as well as administrative measures. He used to read all petitions and even passport, and sign the orders on them. He also condemned his immediate predecessor for diversion of royalty to the dance and song and used of an open sedan chair (*Takht-i-Rawan*), even granted audience while riding on an. He lay down to hold regular *darbar* seated on the imperial throne in the Hall of audience.

But as he had passed his days in poverty and neglect, while imprisoned in the rooms of the Delhi fort, therefore he had been denied any opportunity of learning about the tactics of war or art of administration or and have no practical experience of the outer world. He soon realized that it is impossible to handle administration of the Empire. So smoothly and used openly to declare himself a puppet in the hands of his *wazir*.[2] While, Samsam-ud-Daula continued to be *Mir Bakshi* with the title of *Amir-ul-Umara*.

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[1] Anonymous ,*Tarikhe-Almgir Sani,* E & D, vol. VIII, p. 141
[2] *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* op. cit., vol, II, p. 3

Imad-ul-Mulk as *wazir* enjoyed unlimited power but he lived on the bed of thorns. After accession to his office, first danger appeared from his deposed predecessor Intizam-ud-Daula, who had been robbed of the *wizarat*, but had not been totally crushed. He continued to live in mansion of his father Delhi, defending it with a garrison of 600 soldiers.[3]

The other elements of fear in the state were Suraj Mal Jat, his ally Shuja-ud-Daulah and Najib-ud-Daula Khan. The first of this viz. Suraj Mal Jat had antagonized byImad, which trying to weak vengeance on him for his support to Safdar Jang in the civil war of 1753. Shuja hankered after his late father's *wizarat* with desire and far greater strength of resources than Intizam and also had a hereditary friend in Suraj Mal. Najib-ud-Daula was his ally, till 1756, when he was *Mir Bakshi*.

The Marathas were forced to recess the Deccen in Feb. 1755, after that, Imad was free to settle his score with Intizam. Intizam-ud-Daula tried to recover *Wazir* ship during his stay with Raghunath Rao's camp. Where, he succasfully tried to become *wazir* to but soonhe realized that it is not possible. On 4th October Holkar's *diwan* Gangadhar Chandrachud made an unsuccessful attempt to effect a compromise between the two rivals.

On 22nd Nov. 1754 Imad sent a message to bring Intizam to the court by asking him "If you are a servant of the state, come to the *Darbar*. If you are not, vacate your official mansion." But Intizam want to the Marathas, camp and instigate them to go for a

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[3]. Ibid. vol. II, p.5

war with the new Emperor and his *Wazir*. This was declined by the Marathas.

However, Imad opened negotiation with Raghunath Rao and Malhar Holker, requesting them to make a settlement between him and Intizam in any way they could. At last January 1755 Imad paid visit to Intizam's tents at *Badli* and induced him to return to his own house and to attend court a few days later.

By Feb. 1755, Intizam was pacified and the *Wazir now free to* turn his attention and the authority of the government on its rebel subjects. The first rebel to be attacked was Qutub Shah, who some how had obtained an imperial grant of some land from Alamgir II in the Saharanpur and Meerut districts. But after six months when the grant was transferred to the Marathas, Qutub Shah quietly crossed the river, entered district of Sirhind and began to seize villages without any legal title. The *wazir* sent his *Sindagh* regiments to drive him away. Qutb Shah promptly charged on *Sindagh* and defeated them. Then the rebel marched towards Thanesar and by putting strong garrison at Karnal became stronger. As Sadiq Khan the *foujdar* of Sirhind fled away to Adina Beg in the Punjab, Qutub Shah by a forced arrived and established his control at Sirhind. Then he crossed the Sutlej river and attacked Adina Beg Khan but ultimately he was defeated. Adina Beg khan further advanced to the east of the Sutlej and took over the administration of Sirhind, Thanesar, Mustafabad and Ghuram. The *wazir* recognized his rule in return for a tribute with the news of *Sindagh* rout mentioned above to forced, the *Wazir* pressed the Emperor to personally start with him against the rebels. He halted outside Delhi and called to his aid

Kamgar khan Baluch and Najib Khan both of whom were urged by him to advance and make a demonstration of force against the rebel, but in between when he learnt about Qutb's defeat at the hands of Adina Beg Khan, he then moved on with the Emperor to Panipat.

Here, he again called back to the *Sindagh* contingent from Delhi. The captain of *Sindagh*, had been severely censured for their cowardly act and fight with Qutb Shah, who were now demanding for arrears and captured *Khalisa* demesne land.[4] On this, Imad ordered them to bring troops to their muster and receive payment according to the actual number of the men under arms. The *Wazir* directed to Najib-ud-Daula to review the brigade. The *Sindagh* brigade finding that they were in danger, if Najib reviewed them, as he was a man of character and so that he cannot be tampered or mislead. Finding this the *Sindagh* troops rebelled, captured Imad and exposed him to humiliation. Somehow he escaped death through the intervention of Hasan Beg Khan, but he decided to completely destroy the rebel troops. He commanded Najib-ud-Daula and Raja Nagarmal to attack the *Sindagh* contingents. Thus the *Sindagh* were destroyed and the *wazir* was placed completely on the mercy of his rivals. After this Najib developed some sort of vanity and began to exercise according to his ambition.[5]

The *wazir* made a prompt return to Delhi, where he smelt out a plot of removing him from his office, and the post going to Shuja-ud-Daulah. The intermediary of this secret negotiation was, Ali Quli Khan and the key players for this change were Suraj Mal and

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[4]. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., vol. III (tras). p. 343.
[5]. *Najib-ud-Daula,*(ed.)Sk.Abdur Rashid, p.LVIII

Ahmad Khan Bangash. But by July 1755, again peace was made through Nagar Mal's efforts.

6.1 Punjab Expedition: Feb. 1756

As mentioned earlier the Afghan King Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752, defeated to Muin-ul-Mulk, but restored him as governor of Punjab. However the sudden death of Muin-ul-Mulk in 1753 provided an opportunity to Abdali to appoint, Mir Momin two years, infant son of the deceased as the governor of Lahore, with Muin-ul-Mulk's wife Mughlani Begam as the vicegerent who took the administration of the *Subah*.[6]

During her regency, matter passed from bad to worse. The earliest rebellion led by Bhikari khan and Khawja Mirza, who usurped power and later declared himself *Subahadar* of Lahore and Mughalani Begam was finding her self a captive, sent secret letters to Imad-ul-mulk and Ahmad Shah Ahdali for help.[7]

In 1756, Imad undertook the Punjab adventure to consolidate her position to establish law and order, and to crush her opponent court nobles, with the intention of occupying the provinces of Lahore and Multan from the representative of the Abdali.[8] At the end of Jan.1756, the *wazir* taking prince Ali Gauhar with him, crossed the Jamuna and marched towards the Punjab and at Sirhind he halted. Adina Beg Khan advised to him not to advance beyond Sirhind but to send only a small party, which Adina would strengthen with 10,000 troopers of his own and which would capture Lahore.

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[6] *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, ff. 30ab-3a.
[7] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 39.

When this force arrived at Lahore to the Begam's rescue and beating her Kettle-drum at her residence, rode in triumph through the street of city, and the rebel fled away. After a month, she sent her daughter Umda Begam to Imad, with whom she was betrothed.

But Mughlani Begam's restoration was short lived as she lost her faith in Imad and lastly in Abdali. So Imad sent Syed Jamil-ud-Din Khan with 10,000 forces to kidnap her. As, he was a favorite lieutenant of Muin-ul-Mulk and had commanded the contingent under him to Delhi in 1753. He had won good opinion of Imad, by his devoted services under him. So he by a continuous rapid march, Jamil-ud-Din reached Lahore and encircled the Begam's mansion, forced her off to the *Wazir's* camp on 28 March 1753. All her property was seized. Mir Mumin the leading nobleman of Lahore was again appointed *Subahdar* of the Punjab with Syed Jamiluddin as his deputy and actual governor. The Syed was an honest God-fearing and experienced man and he administered the province justly, in strict accordance with the Islamic law, punished offenders without fear or favour and tried to maintain peace as far as he could with the actual muster of the Mughal soldier assigned to the province. He sought to lower the unfairly enhanced price of grain by publicly flogging the headman of the markets and led some expedition against the Sikh rebels, whom he defeated after severe fighting.[9]

Ahmad Shah Abdali decided to invade India when he learned that Imad has destabilized the administrative setup of Panjab and had misbehaved with Mughlani Begum. In addition Mughlani

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[9]*Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 69b.

Begum, Najib-ud-Daulah and even the Mughal Emperor invited to Ahmad Shah Abdali.[10] After his departure from Kabul and reached at Peshawar, he dispatched an advance army under Jahan Khan with Prince Taimur as the commander-in-chief arrived near Lahore. So that, Syed Jamil-ud-Din sent appeals to Adina Beg for reinforcements but all in vain. Adina dus not provoke the Durrani power by standing up against him and therefore governor retreated from Lahore to join Adina Beg Khan.

On 15th November 1753, when Abdali arrived at Indus, he received further petitions from Intizam-ud-Daulah, Mughlani Begum and Abdul Ahad Khan.[3] The Afghan invaders advanced upon Adina Beg's Camp at Jalalabad (in Punjab). He fled away with Syed Jamaluddin. By the end of December, Afghan crossed the Sutlej and occupied Sarhind without any resistance Jahan Khan on 5th Jan 1757 pushed onwards Delhi by way of Panipat. Ahmad Shah Abdali himself entered Lahore on 20 December and after arrangement of the province, he crossed the satlij and occupied up to Sirhind in 6 January1757. In Delhi the news of Afghan occupation of Lahore and the flights of its leading men to Sarhind had been followed a fortnight later by the arrival of the Afghan envoy at Delhi. The popular report was that Abdali himself would follow his vanguard and wreak vengeance on Imad for having insulted and plundered Mughlani Begum whom the Afghan king used to call his daughter.[4] The danger was great, but Imad did not know how to meet the danger. The disbandment of *Sindagh* contingent had left him

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[10]Ganda Singh, *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* , p. 150.
[3]Ibid, p.152.
[4] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol.ii, p. 57.

without troops. On Dec. 25 1756, the *wazir* called Khan-i-Khanana Intizam-ud-Daulah, Zia-ud-Daulah *Khan-i-Saman*, Jalal-ud-Daulah, Babu Pandit Maratha and some other *amirs to* his house for a consultation. They all were of the opinion that they should march out with the Emperor as their head to oppose the Durrani.[5] He also went to the camp of Najib-ud-Daula appealed him for help and dissuaded him from marching away to Saharanpur (U.P.) as he planned to do. But Najib demanded heavy amount of two corers of rupees. Imad replied "this claim that you have announced is inconsistent with your loyalty as a subject".[6] After it Imad-ul-Mulk approached, Suraj Mal Jat through Nagar Mal. At this call Suraj Mal came to *Tilpat* and met the *wazir's* envoy. But the negotiations broke down on a conflict policy. Suraj Mal suggested that the best defense of the empire was the *Wazir* should in person lead the army, constituting of Ruhelas, Jats, Rajputs and the old Mughal Nobility against Maratha and firstly ensuring the safety from Marathas then lead the united forces against Ahmad Shah Abdali in Panjab. But the sole power of Imad, were the Marathas therefore he could not cast them off.[7]This led Suraj Mal to return backing disgust to his forts.

Thus an effective joint opposition and operation against to the Shah was out of question. Imad then, in December 1756 presented before the Emperor, Yaqub Ali Khan (a cousin of the Durrani Minister Shah Wali Khan, then residing in India) to be honored with a *mansab* of 6000/6000 and asking him to convey the message to

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[5] *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op. cit., p.154.
[6] W. Irwin, 'Ahmad Shah Abdali and the wazir Imad-ul-Mulk' *Indian Autiquary,* Feb. 1907, p. 44.
[7] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol, ii, p. 58.

Abdali that 'not to invade the Mughal capital and to return to his country after taking some money for his expenses'.[8] Imad-ul-Mulk seems to have been hopeful up to the 9th Jan, 1757 that Yaqub Ali Khan would succeed in dissuading Ahmad Shah from coming to Delhi. But when he heard that, Ahmad Shah had left Lahore for Delhi and arrived near Sutlej. He was greatly alarmed and became very apprehensive for the future of the capital and himself. It was suggested to the wazir that the danger could be averted if Mughlani Begum could be sent to appease Ahmad Shah Abdali. So that Imad induced her to proceed to the camp of invader and to persuade him by all possible methods to desist from the invasion. On Jan 11, she set out towards the Punjab for discussing the terms of peace.[9] She was received by Ahmad shah at Panipat after some talk Ahmad Shah Abdali said that "I have come near to Delhi, it is not wise for me to go back without seeing the city of Delhi and the king of India."[10]

From Sarhind, Shah dismissed the Delhi envoy, Agha Raza Khan with the following terms on which peace could be concluded:

i. A sum of two crore rupees be paid in cash to the Ahmad Shah Abdali.
ii. The hand of the Emperor's daughter be given in marriage; and.
iii. All the territories from Sarhind north, west wards (including the Punjab, Kashmir and Multan) are aided to him.

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[8] *Ahmad ShahDurrani* , op. cit., p. 155.
[9] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 89a.
[10] *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op. cit., p.150.

The Emperor Alamgir II and his *Wazir*, Imad-ul-Mulk were then in a helpless state. They could neither able to fight nor to accept these terms. The ransom was too heavy for them to raise. The envoy was sent back again to the Shah to give up his intention of marching upon Delhi.[11] But it was too late Jahan khan left Panipat for Delhi on 15th January 1756. He arrived at Luni (near Delhi) on the eastern bank of the Jamuna. Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk on 15th Jan appealed to Najib-ud-Daulah on the following day to come forward to oppose the advance of Ahmad Shah and to give him at least one battle.[12] Najib in reply demanded 2 corers of rupees, and at the same time he was in contact with Ahmed Shah. He received a letter from Ahmed Shah, inviting Najib Khan, at midnight, Najib khan came out of Delhi and marched off with his troops to the Shah's camp, where he obtained a regal *Khilat*.

On the 17th January 1756 the *Wazir* planted a few guns on the bank of Jamuna, to oppose the passage of Jahan Khan. But on the 18th Jan. 1756, Ahmad Shah dismissed Agha Raza Khan with the message desiring the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II and his *Wazir*, Imad to visit him personally so that the terms of peace might be discussed.[13]

Early in the morning of the 19th Jan. 1756 *Wazir* Imad-ul-Mulk accompanied by Khan-i-Khanan, Bahadur Khan Baluch and Abdullah Khan Kashmiri set out without the Emperor to see Ahmad Shah. He was received by Shah Wali Khan, and friendly conversation took place between the two *Wazirs*. Finally, on 20th

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[11] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 90b

[12] Ahmad Shah and the wazir Imad-ul-Mulk', *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., Feb. 1907, P. 45.

[13] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 92b.

January Shah granted audience to Imad and enquired that as "You are the *Wazir* of Hindustan, how is it that you did not fight with me? Imad replied that Najib khan was the *Amir-ul-Umara* and as he joined you there was no commander with an army. I told him to give at least one battle but he paid no heed to my suggestion and without reporting to me, he left Delhi and came to your Majesty camp."[14]

Then the talk turned towards question of marriage with Umda Begam[15] daughter of Mughlani Begam.[16]

Ahmad Shah then told Imad that, Intizam had offered two corers rupees, for the post of wizarat, and if you paid one corer of rupees, you will be retained in your office. He replied that the slave cannot produce a corer, even I cannot collect a corer of broken pebble-stones in Delhi." So then and there he resigned the chancellorship of a state that had no army and no treasure. Abdali now, conferred the post on Intizam. At the same time, Najib-ud-Duallah also came, the Shah was pleased to receive him, honored him, on his own behalf. The administration of the capital bestowed upon him.[17]

Any opposition from Delhi being clearly impossible, it was the first Friday since the arrival of the Shah in the capital at the time of the *Jumma* prayer, the *Khutba* was read in the name of Ahmed Shah Durrani, Alamgir Sani heard of this news, took it as his fall

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[14]W.Irvin, 'Ahmad Shah and the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk,' *India Antiquery*, Feb . 1907, p. 45.

[15] His mother was a dancing girl and poetess, she was also a renowned poetess, her poet found place in William Jone's work.

[16] W.Irvin'Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk' *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1907, p. 45.

[17] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, ff. 92b-93.

from power and vacated the royal chambers and moved with his family and relatives to inferior quarters.

Than, Ahmad Sah himself arrived at and sent Jahan khan to the Alamgir Sani with the message that I bestow that Empire of Hidustan on you visit, me t me tomorrow in full royal state. On 29th Jan, 1756 the two sovereign held a public audience seated side by side. Abdul Ahad khan the third pay master was appointed *Diwan* of *Khalsa wa tan*.[18]

On the same occasion Intizam was vested with the robes and insignia of *wazir*.[19] On 27th January Ahmed Shah entered Delhi and took abode in *Qilai-e-Mualla*. On the same day *hartal* was organized by shopkeepers in consequence of looting by Durrani soldiers. The Shah had the noses of two or three of the looters slit, cut their stomachs open. Thrust arrows into their nostril, and in this manner paraded them in disgrace. He told his *nasaqchi* to announce "I have granted peace and protection to the residents of the city. No one shall be harassed or molested. No house shall be sacked and no one taken a captive. No girls or women shall be married without her consent. Whose- ever is found to be an aggressor shall be duly punished".[20]

Thereafter the Afghan got down to work. An officer placed in every ward of the city and ordered to assess the ransom from each house. *Intizam* who had promised two corers for the *wazirship* was taken to the Shah's presence and called upon to produce. He replied he had nothing apart from the ring on his finger and the pearls

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[18] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol. ii,p. 68.
[19] *The Forgotten Mughals*, op. cit., p. 284.
[20] *Ahmad Shah Durrani,* op. cit., p. 164.

around his neck. On this Shah replied that "I heard stored twenty corers of rupees and I realized one corer by gentle means Intizam replied that his mother Sholapuri Begam alone knew the secret. His mother was summering and told that she showed the spot iron pins could be drive in underneath the nails. She fainted at the threat then Intizam and Imad carried her away. After recovery she told to Imad that, I am not able to specify the place, but I know that in certain mansion. This statement Imad reported to the Shah.[21] After six hours of digging by a hundred men, lastly recovered about 16 Lakhs coin and jewels, nor was Imad spared. And, so it went for nearly three weeks, until the Shah, betook himself to Mathura. In all these extortions Mughlani Begum played key role by apprising and information to the shah."[22]

On 19th Feb. 1757, Abdali made further change among the Delhi Minister. Intizam was found to be of little use therefore dismissed and the *wazirship* was conferred upon the Emperor's eldest son Ali Gauhar with Intizam as his deputy, while Imad who had now been pardoned was given a most dignified post of *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* (Supreme Regent). Najib Khan was created *Mir Bakhshi* or head of the army of the empire, Yaqub Ali Khan lord chamberlain and Badr-ud-Daulah Chief of Artillery (*Mir Atish*) and commandant of the Delhi palace. Finally, on 18 March the Afghan king restored Imad to the *Wazirship* in recognition of his courage and zeal shown during his stay at Delhi.[23]

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[21] Samin, *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1907, p. 48.
[22] *The Forgotten Mughals*, op. cit., p. 284.
[23] *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., ii, p. 71.

Then the Emperor offered matrimonial ties with the Shah but Shah replied "I desire no disrespect to the house of Amir Timur." Alamgir Sani pressing in his request that what, harm is there if the daughters of sovereign are delivered to sovereigns.[24] After it Ahmad Shah married with Hazrat Begum (the daughter of Mohammad Shah) and Alamgir's daughter Gauhar-un-Nisha was taken as a bride for his son Taimur. The Shah treated this spouse with such honour and respect that he made her the head over all his other wives.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was never determined to make India his house or to personally conduct the government of Delhi. He, therefore, sincerely desired to restore the Mughal Emperor to real power and wealth by winning his provinces back from the refractory governors and placing them in charge of loyal officers who would support their sovereign with the provincial revenue and troops.[25] Therefore he ordered Imad to accompany two *Shahzadas* of Delhi and march for the conquest of the Maratha possessions in the Doab and the refractory Shuja-ud-Daulah's provinces and if successful in this expedition to conquer Bengal and Bihar afterwards.[26] Ahmad Shah planned to wrest Shuja,s territories through Ahmad Khan Bangash, but the was dropped on the advice of Imad. It was now decided that these eastern provinces transfer to two princes Hidayat Baksh son of Alamgir Sani as governor of Bengal and Mirza Baba as governor of Oudh. These two princes were sent with Imad-ul-mulk as guardian and diplomat, Jangbaz Khan as commander and Najib's

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[24] W.Irvin,'Ahmad Shah and theWazir Imad-ul-Mulk', *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1907,p. 49.
[25] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol. ii, p.7.
[26] Ibid,vol.ii, p.91

brother Sultan khan and son Zabita Khan. They planned that the princes should first go to Doab to join Ahmad Bangash, drive out the Maratha posts there, established there own revenue collectors and with the resources, advance further east, oust Shuja from his province and then proceed to the Bengal.

This party arrived at Agra on 23rd March, and at Mainpuri Ahmad Bangash waited on them and took Mirza Baba with himself to Qadirganj in the north-west, while Hidayat Baksh moved south eastwards to Etawa from where the Maratha collector fled away. Then reach the news that Shuja-ud-Daulah had sent a force under Anupgir Gosain declaring "I am a loyal servant of the Emperor and the Imperial Princes. But I regard Imad-ul-Mulk and Ahmad khan Bangash as my enemies. If they are removed from the side of the princes I will come to pay my respects with folded hands and shall sacrifice my life and property. If on the other hand, they remain, I shall fight."[27] However negotiation for tribute between Shuja and prince went on, the situation changed when Maratha army arrived and by their mediation a settlement was speedily made with Shuja in June 1757. By the agreement he promised to pay 15 lakhs rupees, five of which were to be paid immediately and the balance at the end of this year. Sadullah khan successor of Ali Mohammad Ruhella pledged his word as a surety for the payment in due time.[28]

Meanwhile Ahmed Shah Abdali leaving Sonepat for his home gave his son Taimur, the title of Shah and conferred upon him the government of Lahore and Multan, and leaving Jahan Khan with him as his minister.

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[27] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f.123a.
[28] *Shuja-ud-Daula*, op. cit., vol.I. pp.44-45.

A discord between the Emperor and his *Wazir* Imad arise due to the Emperor's strong complains against him to the Abdali.[29] Another cause was that during Imad,s expedition against Shuja, Emperor wrote a letter to Shuja that he had not ordered to force war upon him.[30] At that time the Maratha force too came in support of Shuja. In Delhi, the Emperor bestowed the superlative title of Maharaja Dhiraj to the Bapu Mahadev Hingane, the Peshwa's *wakil* at Delhi and who fled away to Kumbher fort during Abdali's presence at Delhi.[31] Imad had anxiety about Najib after invasion of Abdali, when he openly allied with the invader.

So that Imad decided to win the support of the Maratha. For that he kept the *diwan*, Nagar Mal to entreat the Marathas to make friendship with him. He joined the Maratha forces facing Delhi accompanied by Ahmed Khan Bangash, Raghunath Rao, Malhar Rao, Shamser Bahadur, Naro Shankar and Babu Rao Patel etc. at the head of vast army.[32] Meanwhile Emperor Alamgir Sani found Najib overbearing and rude in comparision to Imad, whatever his faults were but at any rate he was cultured and educated, polite and soft spoken with him and well behaved. He openly professed on solemn oaths to Imad that he was like a son to him. "I am a prisoner in the hands of this Ruhela (Najib), otherwise I am anxious to see you."[33] The Emperor secretly sent food, fruits etc. through his trusted eunuchs.

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[29] Mohammad Umar ,Imad-ul-Mulk; *His Rise and Fall, Sufis, Sultan and Feudal orders (*ed). Mansura Haider, p. 233.
[30] *Shuja-ud-Daula*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 44.
[31] S.P.D., xxi, 120
[32] *Najib-ud-Daula*,(ed.)Sk.Abdur Rashid, p. 13.
[33] Ibid. p. 13.

Thus, it was decided that to oust Najib from Delhi and restore Imad to power, as a creature of the Marathas.

Najib Khan planned to defend the capital from the Maratha force. He dug trench of line at Khizrabad outside the city to bar a line of invasion from the south, but he had not enough troops to hold these in force and therefore wisely withdrew most of his men from the old city to the New. A garrison of 2500 of his own Ruhelas was placed in Delhi fort, and the artillery was placed in *Purana Qila* (old fort).[34]

On 11 August 1757, allied force launched their attack and easily captured the old fort and looted it. This infuriated Ruhellas who sack the Delhi mansion of Imad. They slew the defenders and dishonoured Imad's women and servants. At last with the intervention of Saif-ud-Din Mohammad Khan (brother of Aqibat Mahmud Khan) Najib was pacified and the women were given shelter.

Throughout the month of August with the short gap, war was carried on. At last by the end of August famine was raging within the city and only few remained loyal to Najib. Malhar Rao tried to soften Raghunath and Imad, while Majd-ud-Dualah (Abdul Ahad Khan) pressed Najib hard. At last Najib consented to visit Malhar and on 3rd Sept. term of truce was finalized. The term of treaty was that Najib-ud-Daula should retire to his own estate while Imad-ut Mulk hold charge of the fort. Ahmad khan Bangash was to be appointed *Mir Bakhshi*.[35] Najib-ud-Daulah accepted these terms and

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[34] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 101.

[35] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, ff. 132b-137a; Relinqusihing his office of *Mir Bakhshiship* was not the part of peace treaty, *Najib-ud-Daulah*, ed.Sheikh Abdur Rashid, p. lxvi.

with honour he encamped outside the city with the permission of the Emperor. After the departure of Najib, Imad took up the reins of the administration along with the newly appointed Ahmad khan Bangash entitled *Amir-ul-Umara* Ghalib Jang.[36] Now *wazir* replaced Najib's agent with his own men as *Qiladar* of the palace fort, superintendent of the private audience, *Peshkar* of the Emperor and superintendent of canal. Re-installed with the Maratha help, and freed from the rivalry of Najib's genius, the *Wazir* now set to work to eliminate his other rivals. Imad looked upon Shuja-ud-Daulah, and the heirs to the imperial throne, Shah Alam, as the two chief sources of future danger for the perpetuation of his absolute power. His recent experience had shown that the futility of force against Shuja, thus he now followed the policy of isolating him, completely and striking quickly at all those nobles or lesser personages who were suspected of having intimate connection with Oudh governor. Accordingly on 3rd March 1758, the *wazir* contrived the arrest of Lutfullah Beg and Maulavi Qasim Kashmiri on the alleged charge of conspiring with Shuja, through Sher Jang, a nephew of the late Burhan-ul-Mulk to bring about a political revolution in the capital.[37]

After relieve from Shuja he turned to Shah Alam, who was sent by his father and Najib, to his *Jagir* in Hansi, Hissar and Rewari in the Punjab with a view to establishing law and order there and also raising a big army to counter Imad.[38] After the expulsion of

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[36]. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol.iii, p. 904 ; *Teen Tazkare*, p. 272.
[37] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152b.
[38] Mohammad Umar, 'Imad-ul-Mulk; His Rise and Fall' Mansura Haider (ed.) '*Sufi, Sultan and Feudal orders* p. 234; he had no money and troops so that he went to the

Najib from Delhi, Imad pressurized the Emperor to call back the prince Shah Alam. Who started for Delhi with all his hopes ruined and his only gain being one of the town of Jhajhar near the lake of Najafgarh, where he was visited by Vithal Shivdev, a lieutenant of Raghu Nath Rao whom he bribed to support with his contingent, and then both proceeded for Patparganj. The news again alarmed Imad, who sent a force under Balbash Khan Badakhshi to bring the prince away from Mathura in any way he could. A battle was followed, in which Balbash Khan was defeated. This reverse bewildered the *Wazir*, he forbade every communication between the palace and outside. He put all the princes, Emperor and Intizam-ud-Daula under surveillance in the fort. Many other nobles were strictly watched and even, Ahmad Khan Bangash, the head of the imperial army who had enlisted new troops for defending himself he paid visits to the court only under full escort.[39]

At the same time, Imad also kept negotiation with Vital Shivdev, through Raja Dilel Singh, to tempt him to abandon Shah Alam's cause. Vital was promised six lakhs and he solemnly assured that should be sent that the Prince will to visit the fort. But prince refused to enter, he marched round the capital to Wazirabad in the north and took residence in Ali Mardan Khan's mansion and kept all follows with him, while Vithal encamped in Qudsiabagh north of the Kashmiri gate.[40]

On 19th may, 1758, Imad got all his troops under arms on the pretext of escorting him during a pilgrimage to Qutb-

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south west of Delhi to get sosething out of his Jagir,J.N.Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II. p, 113.

[39] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani,* f. 1586.

[40] Ibid, f. 166.

ud-Din Kaki's shrine, but sent the force under Balbash Khan to invest Ali Mardan's house and arrest the prince.[50] The *Wazir* having relieved intelligence that the prince was privately communicate with some nobles to his interest and feared that he might again make escape, determined to remove him to the citadel.[41] The prince refused to comply with *wazir's* order and shut the doors of Ali Mardan's house. The *wazir's* troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He besieged closely for two days, on third day prince with his devoted followers cut his way gallantly through the ranks of his besiegers and fled from Delhi to the Ruhela country.[42] Najib himself welcomed the Prince at Miranpur and gave daily subsistence to his troops but he refused to go to war with the wazir and the Marathas. Unable to affect his purpose here, the prince marched from Miranpur across Ruhelkhand to Oudh, where Shuja-ud-Daulah received him with full ceremony on 2nd January 1759. When Prince left Delhi and entered the Hisar district, Imad decided to oppose him by arms. But his Maratha allies having left for the Decean, the wazir was compelled to fight the prince with his own resources. After a long time, Imad with the Emperor started from Delhi, at the end of July 1758, the Emperor reached Kot kalan and the *wazir* at Bahadurgarh. But by the time the Prince had already crossed the Yamuna. So the *wazir* set him to exacting tribute from the villages and fighting

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[50] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, iii, p. 60
[41] Alexander Dow, *The History of Hindustan*, vol, ii, p. 366
[42] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., iii, p. 60.

them in case of default. His troops began to range through Jhajhar, Dadri, kaliana and other places on the Rohtak-Gurgaon border collected over two lakhs of Rupees. But Amin Khan Bhatti of Bhatner, gave challenge to wazir and plundered the *wazir's* camp. The *wazir's* camp suffered from great dearth of food and drinking water. The suffering of *wazir*, camp was aggravated by a great storm of hail and rain. Then the *wazir* patched up some sort of peace and returned towards Delhi on 22nd November 1758.

6.2 Reversal of Marathas policy in the North India

By December 1758, Dattaji Sindhia with his young son Jankohji Sindhia reached Najafgarh, south-west of Delhi. His arrival at the capital effected a complete reversal of Maratha policy in Hindustan. The smooth spoken conciliatory practical politician Malhar Rao Holkar, who had so long guided Marathas diplomacy, in the North, was replaced by the rough impatient hustling soldier Dattaji Sindhia. While Malhar Rao Holkar had publicly befriended Najib khan as his adopted son. Dattaji was under order to crush Najib al together as the sole remaining thorn in the path of Maratha predominance in the north India.[43]

Dattaji sent word that he had been appointed by the Peshwa to replace Malhar as the *Subadar* of Agra and that the capital must pay its tribute or be put to plunder. Imad in great alarm strengthened the guards at the gates of Delhi in order to keep the Maratha out. The *wazir* opened negotiations with Dattaji, offering to pay roughly 7 or 8 lakhs if he avoided sacking the capital. The *wazir*

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[43] Aitihasik Patren, 166, 167;Anonymous, *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 192-198.

had a long talk with Dattaji inspite of that two days later Maratha army raided Luni and the country around. The *wazir* protested against these acts of hostility "at a time when there was friendship between your sovereign and mine", and Dattaji recalled his men. He next detached a large force to the Saharanpur, which was Najib's *Jagir*. On 14th January Dattaji returned to the close of Northern gate of Delhi, but refused to see the *wazir* and spoke scornfully about him. The roving bands of Maratha threatened Shahadra and the Wayfarers.

The Maratha head quarters had been shifted from Barari Ghat to Takia Majnun, near to the capital. From where they appeared near Kalipahari and attacked the phatak Misri Khan. The imperial troops were defeated and driven back, with heavy losses. The Maratha persuaded them up to the city gate, burnt the carriage of largest imperial cannon (named Attock) and plundered the suburbs outside the Delhi Gate. Meanwhile, on 23rd January 1759 Dattaji sent Antaji Mankeshwar, Purushuttom Hingane and others to renew the peace negotiation but no agreement was reached upon. In the following three or four days the food supply of the Maratha camp failed. The Maratha trooper went to Ghaziabad but the inhabitants opposed them by force, then they looted Dasna (a grain Market) near Delhi. They crossed Jumuna and went towards Shahadra and Patparganj but Imad's force guarded successfully.[44] Finally on 30 January 1759 an agreement was reached on the following condition firstly, an amount of money contribution payable by the *wazir* and secondly,

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[44] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 198b.

the Marathas will proceed to fight Najib, and that a force of *Wazir* under a high general should accompany them."[45]

Imad sent Rajah Dilbar Singh his *Diwan* and Bahadur Khan Baluch with 5000 trooper to assist in northward march.

On Ist February 1759, Sabhaji Patil on behalf of Dattaji started for Lahore while the Dattaji himself with Jankoji went to the Doab after crossing the Jamuna.

Najib-ud-Daulah came out toe face them friendly massages were exchanges and interviews took place. Dattaji Sindhia intended to capture Najib-ud-Daulah during one of the interviews by treachery. Having laid out a plan, one day he summoned Najib-ud-Daulah to come to him. At the door of his private apartment orders were issued that no one else was to be admitted. This order was avoided and Najib entered with ten leading Afghan chiefs. Najib scenting trouble quickly got up. The Sindhia too did not press him to stay. Najib came back to his camp and said "It is not good to meet these men, they looks seem malignant to me."[46] He marched away towards his *pargana* which was on the bank of the Ganges. On the bank of river there is a low place on the right bank named Shukartal, where Najib made his encampment. Sardar Sindhia took possession of all the country of Najib and planted *thanas* every where.

6.3 Fifth Invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and Battle of Panipat (1761):

After his oust from Delhi (6 Sep. 1759), Najib-ud-Daulah continuously sent the dispatches to Ahmad Shah Abdali. After the

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid, f. 226

siege of Shukartal by Dattaji, also dispched messengers to the Afghan chiefs and Shuja-ud-Daulah. Rohilla chiefs Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dandy Khan and Saadullah Khan were preparing to march for Najib's assistance.The Maratha Commander Govind Pandit fell upon them, and forced them to take flight in the forest.[47]

For six month Najib-ud-Daulah successfully defended Shukartal. But when his family at Najibabad threatened by Marathas, he again dispatched messenger to Ahmad Shah Andali. Appealing him "In the hope of getting your help I have fallen into the hands of Maratha. It is very likely that very soon the Afghan would be exterminated." To the trans-Gangetic Ruhelas and Shujudaula he wrote "I am reduced to great straits. I have been engaged in fighting the Maratha for six months. But not one of you has come to my help; sure enough a similar day of trouble awaits you."[48]

Meanwhile Ahmad Shah Abdali also received invitation from Rajpute Rajas, Madho Singh of Jaipur and Bijay Singh of Marwar for the protection of their territories, from the Marathas. Emperor Alamgir Sani had also written secret letters to the Shah entreating his Afghan Majesty to rescue him from the galling yoke of his cruel minister, Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-Din,[49] Shah Wali-ullah Dehlavi (1702-1762) is one of the most outstanding religious personality of Indo-Muslim history, and erudite scholar, a pious saint, a zealous reformer and harbinger of the intellectual renaissance of the Indian Muslims. He studied the political developments very carefully and

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[47] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., Vol, iii, p. 376.
[48] *Najib-ud-Daulah*,ed.Sk.Abdur Rashid, p. 24.
[49] Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah, 19b; Dowson, *History of Hindustan*, ii, p. 392.

the decided to invite Ahmad Shah Abdali to India. He wrote a detailed letter to the Afghan ruler, apprised him of the political developments in the country and then requested him to relive Mughal Empire from the Maratha domination. He also warned to Najib that "If you want easy success in your task you see that no one from amongst the Muslims and the Hindus of Delhi is molested."[50]

So that in Oct. 1759, Ahmad Shah Abdali made up his mind to invade India for the fifth time to re-establish his prestige and dominions in the Punjab and to punish the Marathas. He crossed the Indus on the 25 Oct. 1759 and entered the Punjab.[51]

In the meantime, Shuja-ud-Daullah deputed Umrao Gosain and Anup Gir Gosain to proceed by forced marches and punish by fighting those enemy forces that had crossed the Ganga. Early in the morning of 3rd November they reached the camp of the Marathas. And rumors about the approach of the main body of the Oudh army under Shuja magnified the terror which also felt by the Decceni raiders.

The Maratha soldiers offered no resistance and fled abandoning all their provisions, baggage and spoils. Some of them fell under the enemy's sword but most took the direct road to the river and half of them drowned and some found safely on reaching Dattaji's camp.

Further more alarming news came from the west that the Abdali's troops had again entered the Punjab and the Maratha

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[50] *Tafhimat-i-Ilhamia,* Vol. I, p. 101 (Quated in Shah waliullah Dehlavi) and Indian Politics in the 18th century, Islamic culture. Vol. XXV, 1951. p. 145.
[51] *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op. cit., p. 226.

governors of Punjab, Sabaji Sindhia abandoning the Punjab to the invaders. Dattaji was bewildered at the result of his work; that in the Punjab had been stroke out; five month's siege of Shukartal had proved barren, and now the Abdali coming to his back, and Najib with Shuja-ud-Daulah in his front. Therefore, he held a council of war on 9th November and decided that baggage should be stationed at a safe distance Dattaji turned to securing allies and wrote to Imad that "In what sleep of negligence are you sunk? I am engaged here in fighting at your request."[52]

On the receipt of this letter, Imad took leave from the Emperor and went up to Muradanagar, here he received the definite news of the Afghan invaders having taken possession of the entire Punjab and Maratha having fled away everywhere in fear of joint venture of Najib and Shuja-ud-Daualah. Thus Imad-ul-mulk frightened into madness and a fit of fury against Emperor and Intizam[53]. He believed that both of them kept up secret correspondence with Abdali, and were making devices for the victory of Najib over Dattaji and supporting his plans for his liquidation. And he saw the danger of leaving the Emperor in Delhi to be captured by Abdali and would be used as his tool against the *wazir*. Therefore he got him murdered on 29th November 1759 and *Khan-i-khanan* Intizam-ud-Daulah on 30 November.[54] These murders infuriated Ahmad Shah against Imad. Imad-ul-Mulk crowned the prince Muhiul Millat son of Muhil Sunnat, son of Kam

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[52] Mohammad Umar, 'Imad; His Rise and Fall', *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal orders*, ed. M. Haider p. 235.'

[53] Ibid. P. 235.

[54] *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 214a-b; *Shah Alam Namah*, p. 91.

Bakhsh under the title of Shah Jahan Sani.[55] Imad hastened to Dattaji for his assistance. About this time, there was uproar about the Abdali approaching to Delhi. He therefore returned to Delhi, when he heard about the encounter and skirmishes between Dattaji and the Abdali, he become certain that the latter would be victorious, so he left the new king all alone in Delhi, and himself went to Suraj Mal Jat.[56]

At Barari Ghat Maratha army was defeated by Abdali and Najib's joint army. Here Dattaji Sindhia was slain and Jankoji fled from the battleild.[57]In addition of them several Maratha *Sardars* were surprised and worsted at many places and they were forced to adopt hide and seek policy. While Ahmad Shah Abdali with the aid of Najib, was successfully allied to Shuja-ud-Daulah and Ahmad Khan Bangash by 18 July 1760.

At the sometime, Shah had been carrying on negotiation with the Maratha themselves for a peaceful conclusion of the struggle.[58] And it was finalized that Hafiz Rahamat Khan should himself meet, the Sardar Malhar Rao Holkar and arrange for the return of Ahmad Shah to his country. Hafiz was persuaded by the Maratha to join the army of Malhar Rao to defeat Najib and Abdali. But Hafiz was not ready to join Marathas against his own kinsmen. On the other hand, there was a change in the attitude of the Marathas with the arrival

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[55] *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, ii, f. 76b-77a.
[56] Zikr-i-Mir, p. 82;Anonymous, *Tarikhs-i-Alamgir Sani*, f. 222; *Shah Alam Nama*, p. 95.
[57] S.P.D., ii, 114; *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah*, ff. 30a-31a.
[58] *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, op. cit., p. 244.

of a large fresh force under Sadashiv, and thus the negotiation broke down.[59]

The Maratha army under command of Sadashiv Bhan arrived at Agra on the 14th July. In two days he made up his mind to seize Delhi and he dispatched a strong force under Malhar Rao Holkar, Jankoji Shinde and Balwant Ganesh Mahendale guided by Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-Mulk and Suraj Mal Jat. The fort resisted under Yaqub Ali Khan but as there was no hope of any succor from the Shah due to heavy rain, Yaqub Ali Khan offered to safe march out on promise of safe exit. Here they reduced to starvation and it became impossible for the collectors to raise revenue. Thus on the orders of Sadashiva Bhau the silver ceiling of *Diwan-i-Khas* was removed and was converted into coins.[60] Then they seized Kunjpura, a Rohila town with its enormous stocks of food and fodder and which was virtually a base supply depot of Ahmad Shah. Appji Jadar deposes the puppet Emperor Shah Jahan II of Imad-ul-Mulk and proclaimed Shah Alam II King in his place. This was done on the 10th October, 1760 and Mirza Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Alam as heir apparent. The office of *wazir* conferred on Sjuja-ud-Daulah. Shah Alam II was at Ghotauli in Bihar, here on 24th Dec. 1760, he proclaimed himself the Emperor of India.

Finally a decisive battle was fought at Panipat on 14th January 1761. So great was the loss inflicted on the Marathas by the forces of Ahmad Shah that they could never fully recover and they never in the position of vantage, which they had secured in 1760.

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[59] SPD, ii, p. 121, 124; Rajwade, vi, p. 509

[60] *Ahmad shah Durrani*, op. cit., p. 246.

After this victory over the Marathas the Abdali came to Delhi. He was pleased to confirm Shah Alam II on the throne of Delhi and Shuja-ud-Daulah on the post of *Wazir*. Besides it he appointed Najib-ud-Daulah as *Mir Bakhshi* with the title of *Amir-ul-Umara*. Coins were struck and the *Khutba* was read in the name of Shah Alam Sani.[61]

[61] Ghulam Hussain, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*,vol. iii, p. 916; Zikr, Mir, p. 88.

Chapter- 7

Socio-cultural and Economic Contribution of the Nobility, 1739-1761

SOCIO CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF THE NOBILITY: 1739-61

Nobility, the pillars of the Empire (Arkan-i-Daulat) were the officials and officers of the king. They formed the "Upper Strata" of the society and were not only dominant in the political and administrative activities but also backbone of socio-cultural spheres. As a dominant class of society they immensely influenced and contributed in the socio-cultural life of the people in various ways.

7.1 Nobility and Economic Life

Until the mid of 18th Century India was a premier industrial country of the world, and her industry and rural economy appear to be well balanced. But in the later half of this century economic condition started to decline.

During the 18th century the trade and industry of the period by and large depended on the patronage of the ruling elites i.e. kings and their nobles, for they were the greatest consumers of the fine goods and products, which the middle class people could not afford to use. Nobles had also brought general state of unemployment to control, for all types of professional classes who earned their livelihood by attaching themselves to the court of the kings and the nobles.[1]

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[1] Imtiyaz Ahmad, 'The Mughal Governor of Bihar and their public works', *PIHC*, 1998, p. 383; Sushil Chaudhry, *From prosperity to Decline Eighteen Century Bengal*, p. 5.

The significant change of this period was the decay of Old Township and the rise of some new ones in different provinces of Indian Sub-Continent. This was partly resulting of shifts in the political centers of powers. The imperial capital cities of Agra, Delhi and Lahore understandably started to decline, therefore merchants, artisans other professional classes migrated to the provincial capitals, often newly founded provincial capitals, where thy could get patronage, and the ready market for their wares ,production and services.

Many towns were founded by the provincial governors, who established their autonomous rule. Faizabad in Oudh was one of the earliest founded by Sa'dat Khan Burhanul Mulk (1722-39) and later improved by Safdar Jang (1739-54), who named it Faizabad. Shuja-ud-Daula also took interest in the development by inviting people to this town offering the special patronage. As such people saw wealth, ranks and lavish diffusion of money in every street and market; artisans and scholars flocked there from Daccan, Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa, Multan, Hydrabad, Shahjanabad, Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul etc. According to a contemporary writer "If the *Nawab Wazir* had lived for ten or twelve years more, it would have grown up like another *Shahjahanbad*."[2]

Under *diwan* Atma Ram a *bazar* was laid out with rows of shops outside the enclosure on the west side bearing the gate known as *Delhi Darwaza* where residential buildings were also

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[2].Mohammad Bakhsh Ashob,*Tarikh-i-Farah Baksh* ff.224b-25a; Qazi Murtaza Bilgrami, *Hadiqatul Aqlim* pp.155-6.

erected. Outside the enclosure Ismail Khan, the *risaldar* also built another open *bazaar* and market place, which he named after himself. In the same way with the increase of population, houses sprang up irregularly and the trade was flourished.[3]

Farrukhabad, another town flourished during first of half of the 18th century. It was founded in 1714 by Mohammad khan Bangash, after the name of the reigning Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19). The place was favoured due to its proximity to the Ganga, as there was abundance of water and wells could be easily dug.[4] He invited artisans of different arts and craft and skilled men from Delhi and other places by providing them every kind of facility. Consequently within a short time, of span, the city becomes a well populated and every ward was thickly inhabited. In 1794 according to Thomas Twining "it as a large city".[5]

Mohammad Khan Bangash also founded some of the other towns as well naming them after himself, his sons and his *chelas* (slaves). In course of time these town become centers of considerable trade and commerce and supplied the needed commodity to the city of Farrukhbad. He founded a town a little South-West of *Mau* and named it *Qaim Ganj*, after the name of his eldest son Qaim Khan.[6] Where, the commercial activities were encouraged by the Pathan chieftains. Foreign travellera

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[3] Mohammad Farah Baksh Kakorwi, *Tarikh-i-Farah Bksh*, f. 221b.
[4] Munawwar Ali Khan, *Loh-i-Tarikh*, ff.11ab: W. Irwin, The Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad, *JASB* ,Vol.XLV VIII part.I, 1878,pp.276-7.
[5] Thomas Twining, *'Travels in India'*, p. 174
[6] Manuwwar Ali Khan *Loh-i-Tarikh*, f. 12b, W. Irwin, op. cit., pp. 275-6

Valentia, who visited Farrukhabad in 1802, remarks "the trade already considerable and the vicinity of the cantonments will ever render it flourishing."[7]

Jesuit Father Tieffenthaler visited the city probably during the rule of Qaim Khan (1743-49) and gives the following account of the city, "it is the emporium for all commodities for northern part of India i.e. for Delhi, Kashmir, Bengal and Surat."[8]

The city was divided into 143 *Mohallas* or wards each assigned to one profession or community. The quarters were accordingly named after the trade such as *Khatrana , Jatwana, Mochiyana, Holiyana, Koliyana, Sadhawra, Mamunpuri, Rustogi, Agarwal, Halwai, Kaghazi, Mahajan* etc.[9] The main bazaar was 52 yards in width, shops were built on a planned manner. People of one and the same art and craft were allotted shops in a single place and the *bazaar* was named after each profession such as *Kasarhatta* (Worker in Brass or braziers), *Pasarhatta* (druggists), *Sarraf* (money lender), *Lohari* (mongers), *Nunbai* (Salt dealers) and *Khandai* (Sugar sellers).[10]

Najib-ud-Daula founded a town known as Najibabad 24 miles north east of Bijnore in 1753-54. The Chaupar Bazaar in the middle of the town was a small one but beautiful according to the standard of time. It consisted of a brick paved square in

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[7] Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India*,vol. I, pp. 194

[8] Tieffenthlar, *Farrukhabad: A Gazetteer*, Vol. IX ,Mp. 198-99.

[9] *Lohe Tarikh*, op. cit. f. 14b ; The Bangash Nwab of Farrukhabad, op. cit. p. 280.

[10] Ibid, f. 14a; Irvin,op. cit. p. 280.

which market were held thrice a week.[11] Four or five Ganjs (grain markets) were founded after the names of his sons and brothers, *Zabita Ganj, Munir Ganj* and *Nawab Ganj*.[12]

The town was divided into *mohallas* named after of the respectable men living in that *mohallas* or a renowned noble such as Zabita Khan which comprised eastern part of the town. There was another m*ohalla* called *Nawab Tola*. It is said that while selecting the place Najib wanted to make it a center of trade and commerce which proved true in subsequent years.[13]

Since the Sikhs, the Afghans and the Maratha had created insecurity on the trade route passing through the Panjab for Kabul and Qandhar, a new route was found via Kashmir. Thus this town facilitated commercial activities between Najafgarh and Kashmir and beyond. It took a course through the Panjab hills and led into the Rohilkhand through the *Lal Dong pass.*[14] Thus it become a mart for trade with the hills and also station on the pilgrim route to Haridwar.[15] George Foster noticed that "on one occasion about one hundred mules laden with raw-silk and cotton clothes and ordinary calicoes left Najibabad for the Jammu market."[16]

Rampur state which was established by Nawab Faizullah Khan was marked by the same character and carried profession

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[11] Munawwar Ali Khan, op. cit., pp. 317-18
[12] Manawwar Aali Khan,*Tarikh-i-Baldha-i- Najibabad*, p.6.
[13] George Foster, *'A journey from Bengal to England'*,vol. I. p.141, 218.
[14] Ibid, I pp. 221-2
[15] Ibid, I, 281, 283, II, pp, 380, 390, 405; Munawwar Ali Khan, op. cit. p. 317.
[16] Ibid. p. 220

as the Rohills living in other parts of Rolillkhand. Forster observe that the whole of this chief country evinces the beneficial effects arising from the encouragement of husbandry and aid of active government populous villages skirted by extensive fields of corn, are seen on all sides and haughty independent spirit which invariably pervades every classes of people, mark their abhorrence of despotism.[17]

The Pathans of Rohilkhand served as soldiers but some of them also took to trade and become prosperous.[18]

George Foster remarks that the, Afghan conquerors of *Rohilkhand* were rapacious, after they had established a government in India, they adopted the profession of husbandry and their improvements of the various branches of agriculture, were amply recomposed by the abundance and superior quality of the production of *Rohilkhand*. [19]

Raja Swai Jai Singh Kachhwaha (1699-1743), who was one of the front ranking nobles of the Mughal Empire, was an extremely wise and shrewd statesman. The Raja was determined to make the best of it politically, economically and culturally. He is recorded to have founded a number of his own small, fortified townships or localities called Jaisinghpura in the provinces where he was posted mainly at *Kabul, Peshawar, Multan, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Patna, Burharnpur, Aurangabad and Ellichpur*.[20]

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[17] Ibid, I, pp. 112-13
[18] Twining: *Travels in India: A Hundred years ago,* London , 1893 p, 150
[19] Ibid, I, pp. 136-7
[20] R. Nath, *Studies in Medieval Indian Architecture,* p. 150.

In Eastern India, too town development took place. Murshidabad was founded by Murshid Quli Khan (1704-25) governor of Orissa and Bengal since the town became the seat of the governor of Bengal. He also established a mint, and after the death of Aurangzeb, he erected buildings of permanent nature.[21] After the death of Murshid Quli Khan, Sarfraz Khan succeeded him as governor of Bengal, he razed the buildings constructed by his father-in-law, and erected a number of new building such as *Darultmarat-i-Ali*, *Naubat Khana*, *Tripoliya, Dewan Khana* etc. Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal who also constructed the *Imambara*, the *Medina*, (famous Imambara) the residential quarters, *mosques,* clock tower etc.[22] Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai tells us that Alivardi Khan invited several families of Delhi to settle at Murshidabad.[23]

As a result of decline of Delhi, besides scholars and men of letters, people of other professional classes migrated to Murshidabad. Insha Allah Khan '*Insha*' informs us that during the reign of Siraj-ud-Daula some Mughal *mansabdars* some mimics called *bhands*, famous musician and dancing girls, *marsiya* reciters, vegetable sellers and grain roaster came to Murshidabad in the hope of monetary gains. Inhabitants of the entire *mohalla* of Delhi called Mughalpura, are said to have migrated to Murshidabad.[24]

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[21] Yusuf Ali Khan, *Tarikh-i-Bangla-i-Mahabat Jang,* ed. Abdus Subhan, pp.113-14

[22] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., II pp. 625-52

[23] Ibid, II, p. 610

[24] Insha Allah Khan *'Insha' Darya-i-Latafat,* ed. Abdul Haq, p. 116.

Mir Qasim (1761-64) invited people of letters and man of literary activities and extended patronage to them, he also extended great favour to pious men such as Maulavi Nasir Ali Khan, Daud Ali Khan, Zair Hussain Khan etc.[25]

For the development of agriculture, irrigation formed an important part in the field work and the preservation of water was a principle object. For which the high land were molded by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains. These reservoirs were kept by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for that his portion of drain.[26]

Elphinston reports that on the rivers of Khandesh expansive embankments had been erected for irrigation purposes.[27] In Rohilkhand, the Rohilla chiefs had constructed aqueducts traversing corn-fields in all direction in the hilly areas artificial dams were too built and filled from mountain stream.[28]

With regard to the province of Gujarat, Forbes is of the opinion that the whole province looked like a luxuriant garden. Provision was very cheap and no one could complain of poverty. A family of simple habits could comfortably live on an annual expenditure of 40 to 50 rupees and even perhaps for less.[29]

India at that time was complete self sufficient in food grains and other elements of dietary. During the period however the ravages of soldiery increased but decline in cultivation does

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[25] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., *vol.* II, pp. 611-14.
[26] Parker, *The War in India,* pp. 5-6
[27] M. Report on the territories conquered from Peshwa, p.4.
[28] W. Franclin, *History of the Reign of Shah Alam II,* p. 239
[29] James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs,* Vol. I,p. 8.

not appear to have affected the country's resources to feed its population.[30]

George Foster says that the native princes and chiefs of a various description the retainers of numerous dependents, afforded a constant employment to a vast number ingenious manufacturers who supplied their masters with gold and silver stuffs, curiously flowered, plain muslins, a diversity of beautiful, silk and other articles of Asiatic Luxury.[31]

Indian courts spent enormous sum on distribution of rich robes of honour (*khilat*) to officers and persons of rank and religious heads and this practice made them big consumers of the indigenous textile manufactures of the fine quality.[32] Out of the total manufacture and silk of Dhaka, those worth Rs. 100000 and Rs 300000 were exclusively meant for the Emperor at Delhi and Nawab at Murshidabad respectively.[33]

In manufacture of cotton fabrics Gujarat confessedly excels the entire world though the fabric and sale of its finest white clothes have suffered on irrecoverable blow by annihilation of the Mughal Empire, in the elegance and refinement of which sprang their chief consumption. In 1788, several families of Gujarat silk manufacturer of the formers of this state (Maratha)

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30 V.P.S Raghuvanshi, *Indian Society in the 18th c.*, p. 317.
31 George Foster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, I, pp. 3-4.
32 Fourth Report, committee of secrecy, 1773, p.113
33 Tylor; *A Description and historical account of the cotton manufacture of Dacca*, pp. 130-31.

who ruled over that the province, fled to Banares, and settled there where they practice their former occupation.[34]

In a country, where traveling is not secure and comfortable, where movement of stores from one place to another is not swift and smooth, society which cannot make full use of its industrial resources.

India during the period of study, provided facilities to the travelers, its towns and countryside were provided with rest houses, choultrees and *serais*, erected by government or philanthropists, which, were served at nominal rate, all were admitted to the privilege of staying. At many places, the rest house were for larger in number then were necessary for the convenience of visitors and travelers.[35] In every city and town there were immutable handsome and elegant resting places built of masonry.[36]

In Hydrabad State Mosque superintended by *fakirs* were generally used as rest-house by travelers and these were much cleaner than other choultress. Scrafton informs us that the robberies were unusual on the highways. That he doubted there having been an instance of one in the memory of man. The diamond merchant, who generally passes Bengal have seldom have a weapon of defense owing to that admirable regulation, whis obliges the lord of the spot, where the robbery is

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[34] Proceeding of Indian Historical Records Commission , XI, p. 185.
[35] W. Hodges: *Travels in India during 1780-83,* pp. 7- 32
[36] Sher Ali Jafri 'Afsos'*Araish-i-Mahfil,* (urdu), p. 9, trs. Major R. Court.

committed to recover the effects or make good the value.[37] This, he wrote about the middle of 18th c. when the Mughal administration was on the path of decline. George Forster speaks about the security on the roadsides from Varansi to Muradabad in 1780 "traveling is by no means attended with danger on this part of India, as may be proved by any example, for in no part of the roads from Banaras to Muradabad chiefly alone did, ill usage, and I shall hold myself guilty of an injustice, did not unreservedly declare, that the inhabitants treated me with civility and usually with kindness.[38]

The rise to power and eminence of the merchant i.e. Omichadn, Khawaja Wazid etc. was mainly due to the favour of Bengal of Nawab. The *darbar* backing was crucial for their survival that when it was under circumstances unwillingly withdrawn in the second half of the 18th century, all of them crashed headlong, sooner or later.[39]

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[37] Luke Scrafton, *Reflections on the Govt. of Indostan.*, p. 13
[38] *Journey form Bengal to England,* op. cit., Vol. I p. 189
[39] Sushil Chaudhary, *From Prosperity to Decline 18th C. Bengal*, p. 9.

7.2. ROLE OF THE NOBILITY IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Mughal nobles played an important role for the development of education. No doubt they had lost the basic sensitivity of response to new challenges of the period, but many of them took keen interest in the development of education by maintaining library, extending, free grants to the learned persons, and financial support to the educational center, and established of a number of educational institutions.

The classics of history, poetry, philosophy, lawand religious sciences were regarded as part of intellectual equipment and helped in the growth of virtues like love, tolerance, fortitude, hospitality and generosity. Moral and ethical ideals derived from classics like *Gulistan Bostan, Masnavi-i-Maulana Rum* and several other works, broadened one's vision and fostered a spirit of humanism. To acquire knowledge and disseminate widely perhaps was a great passion with Mughal noble. Generally majority of them owned an impressive private library which contained a large number of volumes on various subjects. They participated in literary and poetical gatherings at theirs homes and residence.

Noble's literary gifts found expression in poetry. Some of the famous poets and literary men, who flourished in this period, belonged to the class of nobles. It is claimed that the first poet in Northern India, who complied a *diwan* in r*ekhta* was Nawab Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Faiz.[40]

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[40] *Diwan-i-Faiz,* ed by Dr. Masud Hasan Rizvi, p. 8.

Nawab Amir Khan *'Umdat-ul-Umra'* had distinguished himself as one of the greatest patrons of poets and scholars. He was well versed in Arabic Literature and composed verses with equal facility in Persian and Urdu. His own taste and courteous disposition attracted famous contemporary poets like Rasikh, Shakir, Shah Hatim and Mir Zahik , all of whom attended *mushairas* held at his house.[41] Nawab Asaf Jah I, whose *nom de pulme* was Shakir, has left a *Diwan* or collection of poems in Persian. Anand Ram Mukhlis, was a poet and writer of great repute and author of nearly 14 books some of them are: *Gulastan-i-Asrar, Bada-i-Waqi, Miratul Istilah, Safar Namah, Chaminastan Diwan* etc.[42] Mohammed Maniyab Khan, Shaikh Husain 'Shirazi' and Nawab Asad Yar Khan 'Insan' and Inmullah Khan 'Yaqin' were some of the few amirs who contributed to the growth of the poetry.[43] The nobles abundantly showered their patronage over poets and men of letters. This liberality gave a fillip to intellectual and literary activities Asaf Jah patronized several poets of Delhi i.e. Mirza Bedil and Mazhar Jan-i-Jahan. Kha-i-Dauran sanctioned grant of one rupee per month as stipend to Mir Taqi Mir. Muhammad Khan Bangash was also a great patron of art and literature. During his time and in that of his son, a large number of poets, writers, and scholars arrived at Farrukhabad to seek refuge and patronage.[44]

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[41] *Reign of Mohammad Shah,* op. cit., p. 368.
[42] Ibid , p. 368.
[43] Ghulam Azad, *Khazana-i-Amrah,* p. 28.
[44] *Terikh-i-Farrukhabad,* op. cit., pp. 155-233.

Raja Chattrasal Bundela, himself a poet had a great respect for the learned, and rewarded them munificently.[45] He composed his poems in *Brajbhasha* and patronized a number of famous poets i.e. Bhusan, Lal Kavi, Harikesh, Niraj and Brij Bhushan.

Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824) informs in his *Malfuzat* that in the reign of Muhammed Shah about 22 learned scholars and mystics of note lived in the capital, '*Tarikh-i-Hindi*', provides us a list of famous theologians, teachers, Jurists and mystics, who enriched the religious life of the city Delhi and other places of empire.[46]

Mulla Nizam-ud-Din founded a *Madarsah* at his residence called *Farangi Mahal* in Lucknow, which become a reputed centre of higher learning in Islamic studies and sciences. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb held him in high esteem on account of his devotion to the cause of learning, they bestowed *Madad-i-Mash* grants, in the form of revenue grants and as well as cash allowances for the maintenance of *madarsa* and his family.[47] He also drew up the syllabus for the theological studies of the *madarsa* known as *Dars-i-Nizami*. The curriculum included subject and books on grammar (*Nahw*), scholasticism (*Kalam*), logic (*Mantiq*), Principles of Islamic law (*Usul-i-fiqh*), Islamic law (*Fiqh*), mathematics (*Riyazi*), tradition of the Prophet (*Hadith*)

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[45] Bhagwan Das,*Maharaja Chaatrsal Bundela,* pp. 114-16

[46] Rustam Ali, *Tarikh-i-Hindi* pp. 604-12.

[47].Mohammad Reza Ansari, *Bani Dars-i-Nizami,* pp. 172-80.

and exegesis (*Tafsir*).[48] There grants and cash allowances continued by the governors of Oudh such as Nawab Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk and Nawab Abul Mansur Safdar Jang. After his death in 1748, his son, Mulla Abdul Ali also become popular as a competent teacher. But he left Lucknow and went to Karnatak where Nawab Muhammad Ali patronized him and provided all necessary hospitality and arrangements for his comfortable stay. The Nawab conferred on him the title of *Bahrul Ulum*, (Ocean of Knolwdge) and built a *madarsah* for religious education.

Although the later Mughals were preoccupied with political and personal problems, they took interest in the establishment and maintenance of schools and colleges. Nobles extended their patronage to men of learning and made grants for upkeep of the educational institutions thus most of them owed their existence to the munificence grant of aristocrats. Some prominent nobles established eminent *madarsas* in Delhi, and they were known by their names like *Madarsah-i-Ghaziuddin Khan*, *Madarsah-i-Sharfud-Daulah* and *Madarsah-i-Roshanud Daulah* etc. Mohammad Shah is credited with having granted big mansion for the *madarsah* of Shah Abdur Rahim(father of Shah Wali-ullah), which soon acquired universal reputation because of the remarkable personality of its founder.[49]

Ashub, informs us that Mohammad Amin Khan founded a *madarsah* near *Ajmeri Gate* in Delhi. There were many

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[48] Mohammad Ikram, *Rud-i-Kaswir*, pp. 405-410.

[49] Syed Manzir Husain Gilani, *'Hindustan Mein Musalmano Ka Nizam-i-Talim'* , pp. 1-10.

madarsahs which were attached to *Khanqahs* and *Mosque*, like the *Khanqah* of Shah Kalimulah and the Fatehputi *Mosque* of Delhi. In the Dariba market Sharfud Daulah had built a mosque and a *Madarsah* in 1772.[50] Scholarship in the Persian and Arabic language flourished under the patronage of many courts. The courts of Nawab Safdar Jang in Oudh and of Alivardi Khan in Bengal were heaven of refuge to eminent scholars of the age.

Ghulam Hussain Khan Tabatabai have mentions the names of many doctors of law and scholars of theology, poets and religious men of great distinction patronized by Alivardi Khan. some of them are described as men of angelic virtues and integrity.

1. Maulavi Nissar, a native of Shahpura.
2. Mir Mohammad Alim resident of Azimabad a desciple of great poet Mirza Moi-musawi Khan.
3. Shah Mohammad Amin a man well versed in the science of the Quran.
4. Shah Khizr, a native of Basrah and religious men of great distinction.
5. Syed Mir Mohammad Sajid.
6. Syed Alim-ul-Allah, the grandfather of Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai.[51]

As far as is concerned science, it was not ignored Mohammad al Midu Bed Ali at Patna, whose erudition touched the whole circle of science and who was thoroughly versed in the

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[50] Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid,* p. 309.
[51] *Sier-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., Vol. I, p. 175.
[52] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 176

mazes and depths of astrology.[52] The Maulavi of Rangpur mentioned by Buchanan as teaching the higher parts of Persian literature.[53]

The school for Persian in existence was mostly of elementary instruction and was called *Maktabs* or *Madarsa*. They were supported by the various endowments made by Mughal princes and nobles. The *Madarsa* at Patna was founded by the Nawab of Bengal.[54] There were a large number of students engaged in the studies.[55] Hardly, there was a single *mosque* or *Imambara,* in which professors of Arabic and Persian were not maintained. *Maktabs* sprang up where *Musalman* predominated in number.[56]

It was this time that a number of meritorious and knowledgeable scholars came to India from Iran and settled particularly in Bihar and Azimabad.[57] The important among them were:

1. Mohammad Al Bedoo Bed Ali, who changed his name into that of Mohammad Hazin, he was learned and the illustrious, the foremost of the renowned doctors the veil drawers of the difficult and hidden passage. His writings and composition were well known both in India and in Iran.

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[53] M. Martin: *Dispatches, minutes and the correspondence of Wellesely,*vol. III, pp. 132-33

[54] J. Malcom, *Memoir of Central India,* I, pp. 133.

[55] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., Vol. I, p. 175

[56] Education commission Report of the Bengal Province committee, III, p. 183-84

[57] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 175-85

In that age he had no one his equal to him all over Iran and Arabia. It is claimed that the Emperor Mohammad Shah fully apprised of his merit and used to send him messages by Amir Khan to accept the office of *Wazir* but he declined the proposal.[58]

Alivardi Khan and his two son-in-laws, wrote him repeatedly in the most respectful term, supplicating the happiness of seeing him in their dominions.

2. Shah Mohammad Hassan, was a master of Arabic language, jurisprudence and commentaries on *Quran*. By birth he was an Afghan, but he migrated with his parents and family to the Karbala and Najaf, from he came to Shahjahanabad. Here he attached himself to Abul Mansoor Khan, who appointed him tutor of Shuja-ud-Daulah. Later he was retired to Azimabad, where he passed away.

3. Syed Mohammad Ali's father was a native of Iran but he was born in Hyderabad. His father took him to Iran for education. He attached himself to Mohammad Sadiq Shistani, who was at the utmost height knowledge in the subject of science. In the science of theoretical and practical, especially physical he is reputed to have no one his equal. There was not a Mosque or *immabara* in which professors of Arabic and Persian were not maintained.[59]

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[58] Ibid vol. II,p. 176

[59] Education commission Report of the Bengal Province Committee ,pp. 183-84

During the reign of Mohammad Shah though the authority of the Mughal government began to disintegrate rapidly in politics and administration, thus the initiative passed into the hands of provincial chiefs and influential nobles.

In North India, Rohilla chief were great patron of learning and took interest in building construction and maintaining schools and colleges in their territories. The founder of the dynasty Ali Mohammad Khan had received good education and extended his patronage to the *Ulama*.[60] His generosity drew scholars from distant places, i.e. Jalaluddin Khan Muhaddis of Kabul came to Aonla and Sayyid Ali Shah from Tirmiz.[61]

Hafiz Rahamat Khan was so keenly devoted to the cause of education that he took a personal interest in selection of books for the various courses of study and anxiously watched the progress of the students studying in institutions supported and maintained by him. In the whole of Rohilkhand, we find a network of *mosques* which had schools attached to them. Besides making provision for the supply of books to the students the government also awarded stipend (*Wazifa*) to them usually rupees one hundred per student. On completion of their courses, the turban (*dastar*), a symbol of graduation was wrapped or put on the head of the successful candidate by the Hafiz himself.[62] Besides a big college at Shahjahanpur, he built a magnificent *madarsah* at Pilibhit at a cost of three and a half lakhs of rupees.

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[60] Namul Ghani, *Akhbar-us-Sanadid*, I, P. 95
[61] Azhar Ali, *Safar Nama-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis*, pp. 85-86.
[62] Sadat yar khan, *Gul-i-Rahmat*' f. 93.

Here too the students received books, stipend and other assistance.[63]

Najib-ud-Daulah was another prominent Rohilla chief, who patronized learning and education. Besides the numerous *madarsahs* founded and aided from his *jagir* and near Najiabadad he is also stated to have built the *madarsah* of Daranagar near Amroha. Most of the teachers employed here were graduates of *Firangi Mahal*. Shah Abdul Aziz says that Najib had, employed 900 scholars for his schools.[64]

Badaun, another Center of education in Rohilkhand. An old college known as the *Madarsah-i-Qadimiya* was in the charge of Mufti Murid Mohammad.[65] The *Madarsah-i-Aliyah*, of Rampur known all over north India, and Sambhal and Amroha was also, famous for learning.

Under the Nawab of Bengal, Murshidabad became an important cultural centre. Due to the space it is difficult to give a detailed account of the contribution they had made to the growth of learning but in short it can be mentioned here that Jafar Khan's *madarsah* bears the marks of its past greatness even today. At Birbhum a *madarsah* was established by local Zamindars named Abdullah. He is stated to have dedicated half of his property for the expanses of this *madarsah* and stipends to the students who studies there.[66]

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[63] Ibid. f. 94.
[64] Ibid, f. 33
[65] Yaqub Hussain Qadiri; *Akmal-ul-Tawarikh*, vol. I, p. 26
[66] Abdul Hasnat 'Nadwi'; *Hindustan Ki Qadim Islami Darsgahen*, pp. 57-76.

The *Madarsah-i-Bihar* was founded by Munshi Sadr-ud-din where Maulana Abdul Ali of Lucknow was appointed its principal with a salary of Rs. 400 per month. Under him the *madarsah* of Bihar attained great reputation.

Perhaps to acquire knowledge and help to diffuse it was a great passion with the Mughal noble, and a source of spiritual satisfaction for him. They possessed means to purchase books and leisure to read them. They owned impressive personal libraries in which contained large number of books on various subjects. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah attracted scholars and men of genius from different places of the country. Lucknow had numerous libraries i.e Royal library at *Rumi Darwaza*, Library at of Moti Garden and Library in Farrukh Baksh Mahal.[67] Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahadur Hazbr Jung was counted among the influential nobles of Delhi. He also had a big library in which books were entered after purchase. These libraries were intact up to the time of Mohammad Shah but later on due to political chaos they were neglected.[68]

Rohilla Pathan Hafiz Rahmat Khan was a patron of Sayyids Scholars and distinguished people. During his rule he carried out many public works like the construction of mosques and *Madarsas*. He had a great library also. In 1188 A.H (1774-75) Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh plundered the Royal library. The

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[67] S.A. Zafar Nadwi, Libraries in Muslim India, *Islamic Culture* (1946), Vol. XX, p. 7.
[68] Ibid, (1946) Vol. XXI, pp. 339-40.

library was a part of loot and placed it, as Top Khan Library in Lucknow.[69]

[69] Ibid, (1945), XX, p. 9.

7.3. ROLE OF NOBLE'S IN THE FIELD OF ARTS:

(i) PAINTING:

In 1739, Nadir Shah, captured Delhi and massacre took place there citizens. With the decline of Mughal Empire it appeared that the powerful nobles went off to far off places and carved out their own Principalities i.e. Oudh, Hydrabad and Bengal, where they set up their own courts. In the same way artists and craftsman also sought new patrons, where their traditions mingled with local idioms.

Occasionally a particularly gifted artist invented something new, but the Mughal School of painting, still dominated the whole execution in the 18th century. Placement of the main figure in the centre or a prominent part of the picture plan and encircled by subsidiary objects figures drawn from the direct views and shown on the margins and greater propensity for profile faces, were the main trends in the Mughal painting which survived and hold till the 18th century. Now painter giving greater emphasis to make the picture plane broader and crowded animation was less preferred and more interest was shown in painting of the landscape comprising buildings, trees, springing plants etc. Now painters popular subject was the processions and panoramic views of the Nawabs, with their soldiers, elephants, cultivators and concealed ladies all enumerated in amusing detail.

The revival of harmony between Muslims and Hindus, which led to a blending of the two traditions. Hindu genre scene

such as the busy view of a Shaivite temple and the girls at a Shrine, were painted for the Nawab by artists for whom the religious elements however, seem to have been curiosities[70]. During the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-12) and as well that of Farrukhsiyar and the reign of Mohammad Shah (1719-1748), later Mughal pictorial art of a new and original sweet style with skillful and meticulous finish, penetrating study of the figures and romantic treatment of the landscape may describe as successful and was its zenith.

But in a miniature of 1730-40 of Mohammad Shah viewing a garden from a t*anjam,* which is consider as a meticulous drawing and perfect finish but characteristic enamel like glow which seems to have imparted such distinctive charm and romantic atmosphere to the best products of the school seems have disappeared with the thinning down of the colour treatment.[71]

Mughal painting originating in the atmosphere of imperial state, its existence in 18th century was depended largely on aristocratic patronage and when this was withdrawn the end came. The close of the Mughal dynasty in A.D. 1760 found the art of painting in India in a state of decay.

In South India the art of painting was on lines somewhat different from north. The work of this period evinced a character similar to the Mughal painting of Delhi school, although it continued to display certain minor features which distinguished it

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[70] Stuart C. Welch, *The Art of Medieval India,* p. 84-85.
[71] S.K. Sarswati, *Eithteenth Century North Indian Painting,* pp. 22-23.

from northern art. It is possible that the school was reinforced families of painters from Hindustan brought to the Deccan by Aurangzeb's forced immigration or who had naturally wandered there, when the Mughal School lost its patronage. The production of this school during 18th century are smaller than northern Indian work and lacking in breadth, while their subject matter is semi-historical, being associated with the various rulers. Further south there are records of art comparatively of late period under the ruler of Tanjore and Mysore.[72]

Murshidabad Qalam (Mughal painting lost its oneness and word Qalam came into us a convenient term to designed each one of local school) had brief spell of furnishing in about the mid eighteenth century corresponding to the short period of prosperity enjoyed by the Bengal Nawabs. The best achievements of the Mughal School are the product of Murshidabad Qalam is found to have certain refreshing vitality quite different from the some what weaks and sentimental works associated with the contemporary imperial court. The *Murshidabad Qalam* began about 1720, when Murshid Quli Khan became independent in 1717. An orthodox type, he did not favour the art of painting but he did help artists to make a livelihood by commissioning them to paint mica sheets for lamps during the annual festival of *Muharram* and on the birth of Prophet Muhammad and on *Shab-e-Barat*.[73]

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[72] Percy Brown, *Indian Painting* (The Heritage of India) pp. 47-48.

[73] C. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 406.

Murshid Quli Khan died in 1727. Alivardi Khan seized power in 1740 and ruled till his death in 1756. Alivardi in his later years seems to have evinced some interest in painting and the interest of this forceful personality was responsible for a few works produced between 1750 and 1755, which though in contemporary Mughal manner have certain freshness in respect of composition, restrained colour, scheme delineation of action, mood and on individualistic treatment of the landscape. A painting of Alivardi Khan near Rajmahal, in the Victoria and Albert Museum belongs to the period of Murshid-Quli Khan reflecting a cold pallor from the stippled surfaces of its wooden figures and unreal landscape. Alivardi too orthodox so, that the women do not emerge in painting of his time.

His grandson Siraj-ud-Daula (1756-7) may have been the most handsome person in Bengal, and during his reign *Zenana* (womens) scenes and Ragmala painting emerged. The earlier vigour colour, become gray and forms acquire vitality. The Nawab himself appears as the lover (Nayaka) in painting. Murshidabad School developed some typical features as over rocky landscape, crowded with wildlife of every description, a row of dark, rounded bushes edging the horizon, a tend towards stumpiness in figures.

After the battle of Palssy in 1757, Mir Jafar was elevated to governorship. Some Lucknow artists seem to have reached Murshidabad during this period and their influence continues to be active during the reign of Mir Qasim (1760-63) as well. The mood becomes more sensual influenced by the Lucknow

tradition. Too fine stippling on unnaturally gray or brownish white faces produces a slightly bloated expression in some of the painting. Though Murshidabad style lingers for a while in the portraits of the Nawab and his officers, it rapidly melts away in he Hindu courts where mythological themes and the influence of Rajasthani paintings combine to absorbed and transform it. A specimen of this phase is vival Ragini of 1770 in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The decadent of Murshidabad trend lay at the root of what emerged as the Patna Qalam under the tutelage of western mode and technique. Which is a represents the meeting of Indian and the European painting.[74]

Oudh Qalam grew up under the patronage of the Nawabs of Awadh. The line was founded by Safdar Jang (1739-54), Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-75) and Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-97). Safderjung was a grandee of the Mughal Court. In Oudh, the painters had enjoyed high status in the early days. Many of them were treated as members of the imperial household and got the title of *Khan-i-Zad*.

The Baroda Museum preserves several painting of the Oudh Qalam featuring Safdar Jung in various scenes. He is seen seated by the side of a fountain in a court enjoying the performance of two dancing girls or as participating in an archery competition or approaching village maiden at a well,

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[74] *The art of medieval India*, op. cit., p. 87.

thisrty in more respects than one Shuja-ud-Daula is frequently seen in intimate scenes with courtesans.

The landscapes mirrored in these paintings are those of the Qudisa Bagh, Red fort and the banks of Jamuna in Delhi, of Kashmir and of Faizabad. The scenes of drinking party and revelry are frequently reoccurring in these printings. Women are seen to mix with men in considerable freedom in these representations. Qudisa the favorite of the Emperor Mohammad Shah and mother of Ahmad Shah, regent during his minority and builder of the *Qudsia Bagh*, was very fond of fire works and there are several paintings representing their display. When patronage declined during second half of the 18th century, painter needed to sell more pictures and therefore they took to copying and the use of stencils. But with work thus lightened on single figures and elements of the composition, the artists could devote greater attention to their varied compositional grouping and to the decorative detail. In several of the paintings, we find a large number of figures deployed with a fine sense of rhythm and an almost choreographic sense of grouping. Landscape handle vast perspectives, trees and flowers are depicted with the greatest care. Fireworks have brilliance, borders become broad, their gold ground very thick and bright and the decoration spread over it forms a veritable pattern book later Mughal ornament excellently executed.

The drawing becomes seriously weakened during Asaf-ud-Daula's. The heads of the feminine figure become too big that

their limbs a quite impossible slimness. Under Saadat Ali the Oudh school broke up.

Goetze conjectures that artists migrated to the court of the rules of Banaras, Jaipur and Tira-Sujanpur in Kangra.[75] He further said that this migration was took place during Sansar Chand of Kangra and that Oudh painting was one of the formative influences that led to the rise of the Kangra School.[76]

(II) DANCE AND MUSIC

Dance and music were the chief means of indoor recreation for the kings and their nobles. The Mughal court maintained many bands of dancing girls and musicians. Apart from enjoying music in the privacy of the inner apartments, the emperors used to send dancing girls and singers almost on every festive occasion to entertain guests. All the Mughal Kings except Aurangzeb (1658-1707) and Alamgir II (1753-58) was patron of dance and music.

Numerous artists, men and women attached to the court of Mohammad Shah, there were twenty two women singers and twenty-four men, who were well reputed for their virtuosity in playing musical instruments. The Emperor entertained their guest with dance and music. When Nadir Shah occupied the Red Fort of Delhi and stayed therefore on some occasion Mohammad Shah organized a music consort in his honour. It is said that the heart of Nadir Shah was conquered by a dancing girl of this

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[75] Goetze: *The early oudh school of Mughal Painting Marg*, Vol. X No. 1, Dec. 2008.
[76] Ibid.

concert named Nur Bai. Nadir Shah was so highly fascinated by music that he paid her Rs 45000 and wanted to take her to Persia with him. But Nur Bai did not relish the idea of leaving India for the king.[77] Author of *Qasas-i-Hind* informs us that she recite a *ghazal* in the form of a polite refusal.[78]

Dargah Quli Khan praised upon her in the words 'she has sharp mind and a good orator, colloquial language with full of idioms and proverbs. She is very particular of the manners and customs to be observed in Mehfils that the tutors of ethics and morals can take a lesson by observing her hospitality towards the presenters of the *Mehfils'*.[79] Another was Kamal Bai, who has mastered through constant practice the art of singing, and dancing to perfection. During the period under review, her retinue adorned the *Mehfils* at the imperial court. However since the invasion of Nadir Shah, His Majesty Mohammad Shah abstained himself from the musical gathering and has suspended them at the court.[80]

Azfari a prince in exile gives us an account of a music concert that was organized music during the reign of the emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-54) in which some of the princes participated. He remarks "At present strange styles have developed in Delhi and Lucknow as regards the art of music and dance. Oh, I remember those days when Ahmad Shah (1748-54), the son of Mohammad Shah (1719-48) and Shah Jahan Sani

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[77] Santosh Kumar, *Prostitution in India*, p. 81.
[78] Qasas-i-Hind, p. 193.
[79] Dargah Quli Khan,*Muraqqa-i-Delhi*, p. 110.
[80] Ibid, p. 122.

sung such soulful songs. Since then we have never had an opportunity to hear such heart warming and melodious songs. However they followed the traditions set by the old masters in the style of music".[81]

Shah Alam II (1758-75) developed a taste for music and dance while staying at Allahabad. After his reoccupation of the throne of Delhi, he organizes festive gatherings and attends poetic assemblies. Tek Chand informs us that in 1773, along with Mirza Akhtar and other sons, he enjoyed dance and music till midnight and he gave them several hundred rupees in cash and ten shawls.[82]

Influenced by the pomp and pageantry of the royal court, the nobles and aristocrat of Delhi, and *Subahdars* of the prvinces , spent huge sums of money on music and dance. They maintained professional singers and dancing girls. No festivity or function whether of social or quasi-religious character could be observed without their participation.

The Amirs (nobles) of Delhi organized musical parties at their house and some of them, such as arranged by Latif Khan continued from morning till midnight; Nurbai and other dancers and singers participated in them. Amir Khan kept himself occupied day and night in the music and dance parties at his house.[83]

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[81] Mirza Ali Bakht,*Waqidat-i-Azfari*, pp. 186-7.
[82] Roz Namachia-i-Shah Alam, f. 84a; waqiat-i-Ghulam Qadir, ff. 1876.
[83] *Muraqqa-i-Delhi*, op. cit., p. 33.

Meeran another *Amir* of Delhi, at his residence from morning to night music and dance continued, which was according to Quli Khan, was a bed of roses and an abode of beautiful. These gatherings were attended freely by people in hundreds.[84]

Azam Khan, son of Fidavi Khan and nephew of Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Alamgiri was one of the chief nobles of Mohammad Shah. In consonance with his temperament he has perfect command in music and *rags* and is often praised by the Hindustani musicians. His income from his *Jagir* was spent on maintenance of his large musical retinue.

Latif Khan, the son of nobleman and himself a *panch hazari* (5000/5000) *mansabdar* in the court of Mohammad Shah, he himself was so well versed in rag that even Nemat Khan visits him at his house and applauds his style of singing. He was par excellence in singing and colorful speech.[85]

The beloved of Abul Hasan Khan son of Sharif Khan was endowed with a graceful disposition and a colorful temperament. The listeners are obliged with her soft and dignified style of conversation. She makes fruitful use of proverbs and colloquial language. Her talents in the fields of singing and dance also evoke praise. She sang beautifully *Kabbit* and *Khayal* in *Sortha Rag* (Sung in the second part of night).[86]

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[84] Ibid, p. 28.
[85] . Ibid, p. 40-41.
[86] .Ibid, p. 100 (The girls name is not mentioned in any sources)

The nobles of the period under reveiw maintained bands of singers and dancers, both men and women. It is reported that Hussain Ali Khan spent an enormous amount of money on them.[87] Khushhali Ram Jani a famous dancing girl of Delhi was attached to the court of Itimad-ud-Daula Qamruddin Khan[88] Raushan-ud-Daula maintained a party of *qawwals* the most famous[89] among them was Sohana. Not only in their houses but even on their hunting excursions had the nobles wanted their musicians and dancers to attend them.[90] In some of his verses 'Abdul Hai Taban' gives a vivid picture of music and dance assemblies held at the residence of Umadatulmulk Amir Khan 'Anjam' Rahim Khan Jahani was in his service, and sang *Khayal* with *elan* applying different musical instrument.[91] Taban describe the place of Amir Khan as Akhara-i-Amir Khan as *Akhara-i-Indar* (the court of Indra).[92]

In the states like Awadh and Bengal, the Nawab imitated the Mughal emperor in the grandeur of their courts. The Nawabs of Awadh maintained court musicians and dancers. It is recorded that Shuja-ud-Daula once rewarded the daughter of Lutf-un-Nisa, a dancing girl, with seven thousand rupees.[93]

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[87] *Ma'asir-ul-Umara,* op. cit., I, p. 320.
[88] *Muraqqa-i-Delhi,* op. cit., p. 105 (His real was Mir Mohd. Fazil and was the son of Hamid-ud-Daula Mohd. Amir Khan Bahadur).
[89] .Mir Hasan Dehlawi, *Tazkira-i-Shura-i-Urdu,* p. 150.
[90] *Siyar -ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., II, p. 651.
[91] *Muraqqa-i-Delhi,* op. cit., p. 87.
[92] Abdul Hai Taban, *Diwan-i-Taban,* pp. 264-6.
[93] *Imad-us-Saddaat,* op. cit., p. 117.

Shahamt Shah nephew of Alivardi Khan was much interested in music and dances. Yar Mohammad Khan remarks that 'whenever I drew his attention to some urgent matter of state he would say "I do not know", however in the matter of procuring dancing girls and mimics he was quite alert.[94]

In the same way Saulat Jang, another nephew of Alivardi Khan, took keen interest in music and dance. After the *Isha* (night prayer) prayer till midnight he would give all his time to be regaled by that band of musicians and dancers.[95]

Nawaab Mohammad Jafar Khan also took keen interest in music and dance. It is recorded that some three to six months each year he passed in the company of musicians and dancing girls.[96]

It is said that the Nawab Sadullah a Rohilla Chief was keenly interested in music and dance, chosen musician and dancers attained him.[97]

Some nobles of the period were well versed in Indian music, both, vocal and instrumental. For instance Qizilbash Khan Ummid possessed great skill in the art of music. Inspite of that he was a native of Iran, he understood the minutest details of Indian music.[98] Mushafi observes that in music he displayed unparallel skill. It is on this, account that he had spiritual

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[94]Yusuf Ali Khan, *Tarikh-i-Bangla-Mahabat Jang*, p. 62.
[95] Ibid, II, pp. 599-600.
[96] Ibid, II, pp. 649.
[97] Mohammad Faiz Bakhsh , *Tarikh-i-Farah Bakhsh*, f. 37b.
[98] Bhagwan Das Hindi,*Safina-i-Hindi*, p. 6.

communion with Nimat Khan.[99] Mirza Afzal Beg Khan *Qaqshal* informs us that he understood *Dohra* and *Kibbat*. He used singing with the accompaniment of *qanun* (an Irani musical instrument). Even skilled musicians were filled with wonder at his music.[100]

Umdat-ul-Mulk Amir Khan *'Anjam'* was reputed master of music. Rahim Khan Jahani, Burhan Amir Khan and other Q*awwals* were attached to his court.[101]

Mubarizul Mulk Sarbuland Khan studied music under the guidance of Yari, Lala Bengali and other *Qawwal*. His contemporary regarded him as second to non in playing on the harp. He used to sing *Khayal* and *dhrupad*. He also wrote a book entitled *'Dhrupad-Trana-wa-Khyayal-i-Taza'* and dedicated to Mohammad Shah. [102]

About Saif Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan remarks that he was very skillful in music and melody and composed a treatise on music entitled 'Rag-i-Darpan'.[103] Mohammad Yar Khan son of Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan, the Ruhella chief, was a master musician and was skilled in playing *sitar.*[104] Mir Hasan Dehlawi refers to several Indian musical instruments and describes the methods of playing on them. For instance he says that some played on *dhrupad* while some played on *paran* in the *daira*

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[99] *Muraqqaa-i-Delhi*, op. cit., p. 55-58.
[100] Afzal Beg Khan,*Tuhfat-us-Shura*, p. 101
[101] *Muraqqa-i-Delhi*, op. cit., p. 61.
[102] *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, op. cit., I, f. 254 ab.
[103] *Masir-ul-Umara*, op. cit., II, pp. 479-85.
[104] Ghulam Hamdani, *Tazkira-i-Hindi*, p. 14.

(circular) style while some women and men playing on *Dhamdani*, i.e. Shahbaz Dhamdami Nawaz, who plays the instrument with such fineness that it was difficult to play likewise on the *dholak* and *Pakhwaj* and some where manjira.[105]

The art of music and dancing owed great debt for its development to the encouragement given by the nobles and aristocrates.

[105] Dargah Quli Khan,*Muraqqa-i-Delhi*, p. 94.

7.4. **ROLE OF NOBILITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF URDU LITERATURE:**

Though 18th century had witnessed the decline of the Mughal power but was the most glorious period for the cultural development and literary progress of especially Urdu literature. During this period Urdu poetry acquired a definite form, content and style and it also gained the position of a literary language. The Urdu poets, in order to enrich and refine their language and mode of expression, weeded out words and dialects, which did not come up to the requirements of prosody and borrowed themes and imagery from Persian language.[106]

They did not express their genius in writing the praiseworthy poetry but their poetry was also touched with elements of mysticism, humanism and a certain degree of liberalism. Their poetry also reflects the spirit of age, its political and social decadence, its economic strains and tensions. Their art of poetry and praiseworthy (appraisal) was not confined to the aristocratic class but had also caste its spell on all sorts of people the Muslim and the Hindu Princes, the officers, the Ulema, Sufis the Soldiers and men of professional classes.

In the development of Urdu literature Nobility played an important role and as the first poet of Northern India, who compiled a *Diwan* in *Rekhta* was Nawab Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Faiz, son of Zabardast Khan, a Mughal noble and resident of Delhi. So that noble played important role by various means

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[106] Ram Babu Saksena, *The History of Urdu Literature, pp.* 1-23.

for example by self compose, by organizing *Mushaira* or poetic gathering, by rewarding and encouraged the one who belonged to the field of Urdu literature mainly poet.

The period is conscious for its literary activity. Nobles were themselves distinguished for their literary taste and activities. Some of them composed verses both in Persian and *Rekhta* or *Hindavi* (Urdu was generally called *Hindavi* in that period) a few of them have left their own *Diwans* (collection of poems) to testify to their literary accomplishments. A long list of such noble-cum-poets can be prepared with the help of the *tazkiras* of the poets written during that period. Bhagwan Das praises the poetic composition of many of the nobles in his *Tazkira-i-Hindi*. Munim Khan Khan-i-Khana was a man of taste, he composed verses in Persian and wrote a book on mysticism entitled *Ilham-i-Munimi* or the Beneficient Revelation.[107] The rationalist views that he advanced in his book were condemned by Shah Nawaz Khan, the author of *Masir-ul-Umara*. Gul Mohammad Maniyab Khan, Shaikh Husain Shirazi and Nawab Asad Yar Khan *'Insan'* and Inam-ullah Khan *'Yaqin'* were some of the other few Amirs who contributed to the growth of poetry.[108]

Nawab Amir Khan Umdat-ul-Umara distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars. He was well versed in Arabic literature and composed verses with equal facility in Persian and

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[107] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabul Lubab*,vol. II, p. 603 .
[108] *Khazanah-i-Amirah*, op. cit., p. 28.

Urdu. However he was a skilled musician, an accomplished scheme and shrewd politicians.[109]

Imad-ul-Mulk the son of Amir-ul-Umara Firoz Jong and daughter's son of Itimad-ud-Daula Qamruddin Khan, he knew the *Quran* by heart and was a student and good penman he composed poetry i.e.

"I am inferior over to a stone thrown by a sling as you have thrown me away and not kept me revolving round your head".[110]

Asad Yar Khan, a famous poet and pillar of Irani group at the court, who bore the title of *Asad-ud-Daula*. He was introduced at the court by Amir Khan Umdat-ul-Umra and raised to the grade of 6000/5000 with ministry of *Mahi wa maratib*. He was men of good nature, of equal tempers, acquainted to utter extempore verses[111] Mutam-ud-Daula Ishaq Khan also composed poetry. His father came from Shustar and entered into Mohammad Shah's service. His verses:

"As my small heart was fall of thoughts of that rose.

The flute of my sleep last night was the whistling nightangle."[112]

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[109] Fath Ali Hussaini, *Tazkira-i-Rekhtagoyan*, ed. by Dr. Abdul Haq, p. 20.
[110] *Masir-ul-Umra*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 677.
[111] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol III, p. 241.
[112] *Masir-ul-Umar*a, op. cit., vol. I, p. 690.

Even few Nobles also encourage their daughters, wife and sisters to compose poetry in Urdu. There is brief account of some of the poetess in the t*azkira* written during 18th century. Gunna Begam bearing the pen name '*Minnat*' was the daughter of Alivardi Khan Walah Daghistani and the wife of Imad-ul-Mulk. She composed verses in both Persian and Urdu.[113]

Mushafi mention the names of Dulhan Begum also known as Nawab Bahu, who was the daughter of Nawab Intizam-ud-Daula and the wife of Asaf-ud-Daula. She too composed verses in Urdu.[114] He also mentions the name of Jina Begam, Zinat '*Nazuk*', Begam Jan Alias Bahu Begam(daughter of Qamruddin Khan), Jani.[115] There was also other women poetess named Badr-un-Nishan Begam popularly known as Khala Begam. She was the daughter of Qamruddin Khan and mother's sister of Imad-ul-Mulk. Mir Hasan Dehlavi had cited a couplet credited to her.[116]

The nobles of this period often generously patronized men of letters and scholars. The pillars on soul of Urdu poetry worked under the patronage of important Mughal nobles. Nobles poured them money for their livelihood, and also encourage them by giving rewards occasionally.

Nawab Amir Khan Umadat-ul-Umara had distinguished himself as one of the greatest patrons of poets and scholars his own accomplishments, refined taste and contours disposition

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[113] Abul Hasan Amiruddin Ahmad,*Tazkira-i-Musarrat Afza,* pp. 235-7.
[114] Mohammad Qudratullah Shauq, *Tazkira-i-Tabaqat-us-Shura,* pp. 59-60.
[115] Ahmad Husain 'Sihr', *Tazkira-i-Bekhizan,* p. 49.
[116] *Tazkira-i-Shura-i-Urdu,* op. cit., p. 62.

attracted famous contemporary poets like Rasikh, Shakir, Shah Hatim and Mir Zahik, who regularly attended *Mushairas* held at his house. His title was *Anjam* and his style was simple, elegant and chiseled.[117] Nawab Asaf Jah I, whose nom de plume was '*Shakir*', has left a *Diwan* or collection of poems in persian. Anand Ram Mukhlis was a poet and writer of great repute. His work included *Guldasta-i-Asrar*, *Badai-waqi*, *Mirat-ul-Istilah*, *Safar Namah* etc. The nobles patronage to the poets and men of letters, gave a fillip to intellectual and literary activities.

Asaf Jah patronized several poets of Delhi like Mirza Bedil and Mazhar Jan-i-Janan a poet and a *Sufi* saint.[118]

Khan-i-Dauran sanctioned grant of one rupee per month as stipend to Mir Taqi Mir, one of the greatest Urdu poet.[119] Once, Syed Hussain Ali Khan presented three lacs of rupees and an elephant with golden chain to Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil.[120] His elder brother Syed Abdullah Khan held Mirza Bedil in high esteem when Mirza Bedil went to meet him and Husain Ali Khan rose from his chair to welcome him. On every occasion, he warmly received him, and shook hands with him.[121]

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah's had treated poets in similar manner, so that several poets and scholars attached to his court.

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[117] *Gul-i-Rana,* p. 107.
[118] Ma'asir-ul-Kiram, p. 180-81.
[119] Mir Taqi Mir, *Tazkira-i-Mir,* p. 62;Ghulam Hussain Azad, *Khazana-i-Amrah,* p. 246.
[120] Kalimat-us-Shura, p. 14.
[121] Bindra Ban Das Khushgu,*Safina-i-Khushgu,* pp. 113-14.

He was a pupil of Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and held him in great esteem.[122]

Zulfiqar Khan was famous for his generosity towards poets. It is recorded that once Shaikh Nasikh Ali Sarhindi, a poet composed a eulogy for him. Zulfiqar Khan rewarded him with 30,00,000 of rupees together with an elephant. Zulfiqar Khan had procured a *mansab* and title for Wala Quli Dashistani , a famous poet.[123] Samsam-ud-Daula Khan-i-Dauran rewarded a poet called Mohammad Rafi of Kashmir with a thousand rupees, some others i.e. Waqif Rai, Ramji Hatif, Mulla Safi Kashmiri, Nadir Zaman 'Faseeh', Shaikh Hifzullah Asim', Mohammad Masud 'Rafi', Lala Hakim Chand 'Nudrat' etc.[124]

Burhanul Mulk not only granted suitable allowances to scholars and the literate but honoured them with titles and rewards as well. He patronized Shaikh Mohammad Hasan of Iran, Saiyid Zia-ul-Abidin Tabatabin of Mushahad, Syed Mohammad Ali Auarangabadi, Maulavi Hamidullah Khan, Mirza Ali Nazi and others.[125] Poets like Mirza Baqar '*Haqeer*', Mir Mohammad Ismail '*Qurbani*', Shaikh Abdul Reza '*Mateen*, Mir Faiz Ali Nasiri, Mirza Ibrahim Nur etc.

One day the Nawab set out for the out door accompanied by a poet called Mirza Asim Isfahani. On the way he stropped at *Nahr-i-Faiz*, a canal inside the Red Fort of Delhi, to look its

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[122] Bhagwan Das Hindi,*Safina-i-Hindi*, pp. 7-8.
[123] Ibid, p.161.
[124] Bindra Ban Das Khushshgu,*Safina-i-Khushgu*, p. 150-151.
[125] Ibid. p. 61.

beauty. He then asked Isfahani to recite a verse, which is as follows.

"The crooked body did not become an obstruction to my shedding tears, thus this water gradually turned pure."[126] The Nawab was so much moved by couplet that he at once honoured the poet with gilded trappings, as well as five thousands of rupees in cash.[127]

Mirza Abdul Ali 'Hatif' received costly *khilat* and a horse from Safdar Jang for the following verse:

"I have no concern if the cow comes and the donkey goes". He used to get three hundred rupees a month from the court of Shuja-ud-Daula.[128]

Shuja-ud-Daula himself was a poet of a class and extended support to poets and scholars. His court at Lucknow was then the most important source of patronage for immigrants from Delhi. Shuja-ud-Daula also invited to 'Sauda', who later visited to Lucknow.[129]

The governors of Lahore also patronized men of letters, scholars, poets and their court was a great centre for literary activities. Abdul Samad Khan was a close friend of Fazil Khan and was greatly devoted to him. Fazil Khan passed his whole life under his patronage.[130]

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[126] *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, op. cit., I, f. 29ab.
[127] Ibid, I. f. 29ab.
[128] *Safina-i-Hindi*, op. cit., pp. 240-41.
[129] Daryar-i-Latafat, pp. 45-46, 114.
[130] Abdul Halim,*Tazkira-i-Mardum Dida*, pp. 92-93.

Zakariya Khan was interested in literary pursuits. Every day he held a *Mushaira* between *Zuhr* and *Asr* prayers. He also interpreted verses from the *Diwan* of Poets.[131]

Nawab Hafizullah Khan was another governor who manifested good literary taste and enjoyed the company of poets.[132] Nawab Mohammad Yar Khan 'Amir' of Tanda was a poet himself, and granted allowances to many poets.[133] He had at his court a large number of poets like Fidawi Lahori, Mir Mohammad Naim, Parwana Ali Shah, Mohammad Qiyaumuddin 'Qaim' etc. It is said that he extended invitation to '*Sauda*' and '*Soz*' as well.[134]

The court of Farrukhabad was in no way less generous towards poets and scholars. Miharban Khan '*Rind*' patronized Sauda and Mir Soz.[135] The Nawabs of Bengal composed poetry themselves and patronized poets and scholars. Several poets found asylum there. Alivardi Khan used to enjoy poetic composition at night.[136] Mir Haider Tajrid was attached to the court of Sarfraz Khan.[137]

The *mushaira* or poetic gathering was regularly held at the court of provincial governors like Nawab Aminud Daula Muinul Mulk Nasir Jang Bahadur alias Mir Mendu and Nawab Mohammad Yar Khan Amir. In *Mushaira* sweets and meats were distributed

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[131] Ghulam Ali Azad, *Khazina-i-Amira*, p. 287-9 .
[132] Abdul Halim, *Tazkira-i-Mardum Dida*, p. 18-19.
[133] *Tazkira-i-Hindi*, op. cit., p. 13-14.
[134] Ibid, p. 13.
[135] Sirajuddin Ali Khan, *Teen Tazkare*, p. 185.
[136] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 609.
[137] *Safina-i-Hindi*, op. cit., p. 41.

at the courts of Zakariya Khan, Alivardi Khan and the Nawabs of Oudh.

7.5. **NOBLE AND UPLIFTMENT OF WOMEN:**

During the middle ages the kings and nobles set the tone and standard of social and cultural life on the one hand and determined the moral values on the other for the gentry and the commonalty alike. The noble class set new trends for the development of women's position by giving them or allow them to get education, followed good ideas and even ruling over the province, thus raising their position presenting replica of the kings and nobility.

In the provincial government women played an important role in politics. Mughalani Begam the daughter of Itimad-ud-Daula Qamruddin Khan, and the wife of Muinul Mulk, the governor of Lahore, was a noted women politician of those days. After Ahmad Shah Abdali had annexed Lahore to his empire, he appointed Mughlani Begam as regent of her infant son, Mir Momin as deputy governor there. But within a short time her infant son died. Hence she got her son-in-law Khawaja Musa Ansari appointed as the deputy. When she came to know that Bhikari Khan Rustam Jang, who conducted the affairs of the state, was conspiring to get the governship in his own name from Ahmad Shah Abdali, she called him to palace and got him imprisoned. She countered successfully several political moves by local officials but in the end she herself was imprisoned by Imad-ud-Mulk with whom she betrothed her daughter on political

ground.[138] She was in close relation with Ahmad Shah Abdali and invited him to invade India to get her father's treasure buried at palace. On this invitation Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India and it was owing to her recommendation that Imad-ul-Mulk escaped with his life.[139]

In the court of Murshidabad, the harem ladies of the Nawab were not averse to playing important political role. Nafisa Begam sister of Sarfaraz Khan, who had adopted her nephew Aqa Baba Kuchak as her son and she entered into the service as a governess in the hosue of Nawazish Ahmad Khan Shahmat Jang,[140] the eldest son of Haji Ahmad and used her influence to support her nephew's cause.[141] Ghasiti Begam the widow of Nawazish Ahamd Khan Shahamat Jang, resided at the Moti Jhil, opposed the accession of Siraj-ud-Daula, as *nazim* of Bengal.[142]

But the most striking influence in politics and society exercised by the Muslim ladies in Bengal may be cited, the case of Durdana Begam the wife of Murshid Quli Khan II, the governor of Orissa. Murshid Qali Khan was reluctant to fight against Alivardi Khan due to his sense of feebleness but his wife Durdana Begam encouraged him and inspired him to fight out in order to avenge her brother Sarfraz Khan's death. She declared that in case her husband failed to do so, she would raise her son-in-law,

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[138] *Tarikh -i-Ahmad Shahi,*, ff 105b-110b;Ghulam Ali Azad, *Khazina-i-Amira,* pp. 52-53.

[139] *Khazina-i-Amira,* op. cit., p. 53; Siyar, III, p. 898.

[140] Ghulam Hussain Salim, *Riyaz-us-Salatin,* Eng. trs.pp. 292, 354.

[141] Ibid,pP. 363.

[142] *Siyar -ul-Mutakhrin,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 525; Yusuf Ali Khan,*Tarikh-i-Bangal-i-Mahabat Jangi,* pp. 56-7.

Mir Baqar Ali Khan to the *masnad* of Bengal. It was under these circumstances the Murshid Quli Khan resolved to fight against Alivardi Khan.[143]

On the other hand, Alivardi Khan's wife occasionally appeared in the battlefield with her husband on the same elephant show that the Muslim ladies also took part in policies and state affairs and that they had not all succumbed to prevalent system of seclusion. Alivardi's wife played the role of a supreme political officer in Bengal, whilst her husband in battle with the Marathas.[144] She encouraged her husband when the later had given wayin despair owing to the treachery of his Afghan general and the death of Haji Ahmad and Zainuddin.[145]

Holwel writes about her "A women whose wisdom magnanimity, benevolence and every amiable quality, reflected high honour on her sex and station; she much influence the usurper's council and was consulted by him in every movement in the state'. She would oppose as she ever condemned them".[146]

Zebun Nisha, the wife of Nawab Shujauddin, took an active part in the administration. It was she who invested Alivardi Khan with a *khilat* and with the patent for the deputy governorship of Bihar.[147]

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[143] *Riyaz-ur-Salatin*, op. cit., pp. 327-8 .
[144] Ibid,pP. 329; Mohabbat Khan,*Akhbar-i-Mohabbat*, p. 579. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 511.
[145] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., vol.II, p. 11.
[146] Ibid, pp. 170-171.
[147] Ibid,vol. I, p. 282.

Female education was not unknown to the age. Women get education, whether they belong to Muslim and Hindu community. The ladies of the Rajput aristocracy received sufficient private education to carry on correspondence and that the dancing girls were also well instructed.[148] In the upper strata the system of domestic instruction of girls was quite popular.

The girls received their instruction under the eyes of their parents which seldom consists in anything but the duties prescribed to them by their religion.[149]

Among non-Muslims the marriage of widows of the higher class families was not permissible. But during the transitional period of the mid-eighteenth century a bold attempt was made by Raja Raj Ballabh of Decca in 1756 to introduce widow marriage in Hindu society. Intending to get his widowed daughter remarried, he referred the matter to the learned Pandits of Draavida, Tilangana, Beneras, Mithila and some other places. Who unanimously expressed the following expression "women are not to be marry again, if their husband be not heard of die, relieve from the world, prove to be eunuchs or become out castes.[158]

In Rajasthan, Raja Jai Singh II of Jaipur made an attempt to introduce widow marriage in his, kingdom but it failed due to his mother's opposition to it.[159]

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[148] Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, vol.II, p. 193
[149] Craufurd, *The History, Religion, Learning and Manners of Hindus*, p. 258-59.
[158] *The Bengal spectator*, May, 1842; *Calcutta Review*, 1806.
[159] *Indian Social Reform*, p. 290.

Moved by the widowhood of a daughter at a very early age, the famous Maratha general Parshuram Bhau also sought to remarry her. The matter was referred to the pundits of Bananas, who gave their consent to it in consideration of the very tender age of the girl. But ashram's wife was not of the same opinion with her husband and so the later gave up the attempt.[160]

[160] Ibid, pp. 290-91 and 177.

7.6 NOBILITY AND BUILDING CONSTRUCTION:

The Mughal Emperors and their nobles were the mainly responsible for the development of architecture in Indian sub-continent during medieval period. The Mughal architecture under imperial patronage though confined mainly to the imperial cities like Delhi, Agra, Lahore etc. but it has also carried to important towns which included Ahmadabad, Najibabad, Bengal etc. where architectural building were constructed mainly by the Nobles. Thus the architecture served as the symbol of Mughal presence at the far-flung area.

During the first half of 18th century, Delhi remained the unrivalled centre of Muslim culture in north India. With the enthronement of Aurangzeb (1658) architecture had suffered of imperial patronage. From Aurangzeb (1658), to the accession of Mohammad Shah (1719), a little construction took place at the imperial capital Delhi. It was only with the enthronement of Mohammad Shah (1719-48) that considerable building activity is witnessed again within the capital city of Delhi. Significant construction occurred pre and post Nadir Shah's invasion (1739), suggesting that his attack had less devastating effects than it is commonly believed.[61]

The Mughal rule witnessed the erection of vast buildings of extensive public works were raised by the nobles, *Subahdars* and other Mughal officials under great Mughals and the process continued till the first half of the 18th cetury. These included

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[61] Catherine B.Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India,* p.296.

mosques *Madarsas, Khanqahs, Sarais, Hammams, maaqbara* , public wells, etc.

Among the structure erected during Mohammad Shah's reign is the *Sunahri* or Golden mosque built in 1721-22 by Raushan ud- Daulah. An inscription over the structure's east facade indicates that the mosque was erected in honour of Shah Bhik, his spiritual mentor. The three-bayed single aisled mosque reached by a flight of narrow steps, the structure is elevated above the ground. Its slender *minarates* that rise above the roof line and the gilt metal plated bulbous domes resting on constricted drums. The emphasis at this time was on delicacy and refinement, not just on the awesome height that had been a major factor in late 17th century. The mosque's façade and interior are embellished with molded stucco arabesques and floral motifs. Thus floral sprays that were earlier reserved for Aurangzeb's place mosques are now used outside the palace, yet by the highest ranking nobility.[62]

Other *Mosque* built during Mohammad Shah's reign is the mosque and *madarsah* of Nawab Sharf-ud-Daula dated 1722 – 23, single aisled three – bayed mosques. This *Mosques* is situated on a high plinth with chambers beneath, that may have served as school. The *muhtasib's* mosque provided in name of Abu said, the hereditary *Muhatasib* (inquisitor) of Delhi. This too is single aisled three-bayed mosques entered through opening with cusped arches and surmounted by bulbous ribbed domes. It

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[62] Ibid, p. 297.

appeared solid, bears delicate stucco ornament similar to that on Roshan – ud – Daula's mosque.

After the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, Roshan – ud Daula Zafar khan second mosque in 1744-45.[63] His second mosque, like first one, is known as Sunahri or Golden mosque and was also built in honour of Shah Bhik, situated south of the fort, area now known as Daryaganj.

This mosque is more robust in appearance than the one he earlier has constructed. It also bears less stucco ornament. Whether this change in aesthetic was conscious is unclear, but the solid yet austere appearance suggests an infusion of new stability into the city.

During Ahmad Shah's (1748-54) reign, Qudsia Begam built a second mosque with Javed Khan in 1750-51. This Mosque in also known as the *Sunahri Mosque,* located along the main road just south of the palace, the compound is entered by a red carved stone gate. The red stone mosque is small and the bulbous domes emphasize the mosque's height, giving the small building a grandiose air.

Another, chief monuments of Ahmad Shah's reign are the *Qudsia Bagh* built by Qudsia Begam mother of Ahmad Shah. It was probably commended when Ahmad Shah assumed the throne in 1748, located just north of Delhi's walled city, this garden housed a substantial residence that overlooked the river, Jamuna. A large two-storied edifice, the mansion had polygonal

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[63] Textural sources indicate Roshan – ud – Daula died in 1736; however, this mosque's inscription in the list, I: 32-34, indicates he lived at least another eight – year.

turrets at each end. The façade was marked with projecting oriel windows surmounted with sloped *bangla* type roofs, indicating that this roof type continued to be used on secular architecture. Today only an entrance gate and mosque remains, both made of stucco-covered brick. The massive gate and probably that of the entire compound, is surmounted by unusually large *Kangura*. Detailed ornamentation of the gat's stucco work contributes to an overall elaborate appearance. Beyond this the mosques plan is similar to others in the later Mughal period. It is richly adorned with molded and polychromed stucco marked by elaborate faceted patterns and exaggerated floral designs found at the base and apex of arches. Engaged pilasters are flattened and highly articulated with chevron – like designs. In any event, this ornamentation is simply a more exuberant expression of that developed under the Great Mughals.[64]

In the words of H. Goetz, Qudsia Bagh, forms a turning point in the history of the late Mughal architecture.[65] It is the consummation of the Baroque trend of classic Mughal architecture under Shahjahan, Auragzeb and Muhammad Shah, of the shift of accent from static balance to dynamic tension simultaneously it represents the transformation of this majesty Baroque to frivolous *Rococo*. In the *Qudsia Bagh* towers we find its classic form which was next take over in the *Hawa Mahal* at

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[64] Catherin B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 304.
[65] H. Goetze, The Qudsia Bagh at Delhi: A key to late Mughal Architecture ,*Islamic culture* ,(1952) p. 140.

Jaipur and then was to dominate the whole architecture of the later 18th and early 19th centuries. [66]

She also built several structures at Shah Mardan now a shiet holy place in Delhi in 1750 - 51, these included an assembly hall, a mosque and tank as well as walled enclosure. Little is known about the shrine before Qudsiya Begum's patronage to augment a *Qadam Sharif*. The current Qadam Sharif was built in 1759-60 probably renewing an older one. Her Mosque remains a well preserved example of 18th century religious architecture. It closely resembles the over all plan and elevation of her private Qudsia Bagh mosque.

Safdar Jang the Mughal governor of Awadh and *Wazir* of the Mughal Empire (1748-53), who never regarded himself as independent but a part of the Mughal Empire.[67] After his death in 1754 his body was transported a considerable distance to the imperial capital Delhi, which Safdar Jang always considered his home. There his son Nawab Shuja - ud-Daula, built an enormous mausoleum. It was moreover closely modeled on Humayun's tomb, the first imperial Mughal mausoleum. This square plan tomb is in the centre of a walled *Char Bagh* complex. Although the tomb's layout plan and its exterior faced many features characteristic of mid eighteenth century architecture. These included complex stucco ornament on the interior, cusped rounded entrance arches, central *pishtaqs* surmounted by a series of bulbous domes and a central dome that vests on a

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[66] H. Goetz, The Qudsia Bagh at Delhi: Key to late Mughal Architecture, *Islamic Culture* (1952), XXXVI, pp.142-43.

[67] Catherine B.Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 305.

tightly constricted drum. The structure presents a balance between increased surface articulation and mass. In this tomb *Chhatri* colonnade was adopted from Taj Mahal, where it was first time used. But unlike the Mughal tomb's it is topped by gadrooned and foliated domes.[68] This tomb exerted considerable influence on the mousolea of the subsequent Nawabs of ouadh and queen e.g. Bahu Begam (1816-56), Gulabdari (1753-96) etc.

Religious structures appear to dominate the later Mughal architecture, although *sarais*, gardens and markets continued to be built. The surviving ones are outside the city wall e.g. an extensive *bazaar* known today as the *Tripolia* with a massive triple arched entrance gate and at either was built in 1728-29 but *Nazir* Mahaldar Khan Superintendent of the women's quarter in the place of Muhammad Shah.

The Raja of Jaipur, Sawai Jai Singh Kachwaha (1699-1743), a high grandee of Muhammad Shah (1719-48), provided with an extraordinary observatory known as the *Jantar Mantar*. He constructed the observatory about 1725 in Delhi known as Jaisinghpura. Subsequently he built similar observatories with comparable sophisticated structure instruments in Jaipur, Benaras, Mathura and Ujjain. Constructed of brick and plaster the juxtaposed circular and angular shapes of these enormous instruments produce an effect unlike that of any other architecture of the period. Their forms as well as their scientific sophistication remain appealing to 20th century sensibilities.

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[68] Jose Pereira, *The Sacred Architecture of Islam*, p. 274.

Such an observatory speaks highly of his interest in promoting scientific knowledge.

Jai Singh also founded Jaipur in 1727, a city well planned, which served as a new capital for Kachhwaha house. The walled city, with broad regular streets dividing it into quadrants in a grid-like pattern, is far more organized than the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad. The focal points of the city is the place s designed along the lines of a traditional Rajasthan Mansion but different from the residential part of Mughal places. Chambers for residential, administrative and courtly functions are all contained within these multi-storied walls. Even more graceful than Mughal palaces this one has light appearance,. This is achieved through the use of numerous cusped arches on slender columns, screens containing very delicate carving and many pillared pavilions with curved roofs surmounting the roofline. These features emphasize the senses of height and also create a graceful skyline.

The Mughal governors of Awadh became increasingly independent and soon after the death of Safdar Jang (d. 1754) subordination to Mughal Empire remained in name only. The governors administered Awadh from Lucknow instead of Faizabad. Which, soon became the premier city of Mughal Empire, however Faizabad, was the initial capital of Safdar Jang and his successor Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-75), it can be urged that it was a significant city that contemporary chronicles probably exaggerated ones, claim that it equaled Shahjahanabad in beauty and magnificence. Most of the city has long since

disappeared, but a mosque and the tombs constructed for Shuja-ud-Daula and his wife remain notable reminders of Faizabad's early splendour. During the initial period of the Nawab's power, building were modeled closely on Mughal prototypes, this is evident in buildings of the central market place (*Chawk*), commenced about 1765 by Shja-ud-Daula. He provided this chowk with an elaborate triple arched entrance. In the market Hasan Reza Khan (chief minister of Awadh) built a mosque known as the Chowk mosque. The three bulbous domes and two *minarate* of this single aisled three bayed mosque, situated on high plinth, dominate the skyline.

Tombs in Faizabad also were inspired by Mughal models. Particularly the tombs of Bahu Begam and that of Shuja-ud-Daula built in 1775. [69]

In Bengal we have few example of mosque, which presents fusion of Mughal and regional feature. That is Jama mosque constructed by Murshid Quli khan in 1724-25. This structure surmounted by five domes is known as the *Katra* mosque its single aisled plan is typical of the Mughal idiom in Bengal; however several features recall the ornamentation of Bengali architecture. For example the façade's numerous niches. The mosque stands in contrast to the more refined buildings developed in Bengal during the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb [70] Najib-ud-Daula founded a city in 1753-54 known as Najibabad. Where, he constructed a fort of Patpargarh in 1755,

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[69] Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 318
[70] Ibid, p. 319

he also laid out two *Bagh* (gardens), one is *Jawal Bagh*, round the mausoleum of his wife Dur Begam and other *Pain Bagh*. [71]

According to Ghulam Ali the author of *Imad-us-Sadat*, fruits which were to be found in any parts of India were also available there. Besides they were so cheap that a pomegranate worth a paisa (paise) could not be eaten even by a healthy man.[72]

Muhammad Khan Bangash inducted into the imperial service in 1713 during Farrukhsiyar's reign as a *Mansab* (rank) holder of 4000/4000. In 1720, during Muhammad Shah's reign his *Mansab* (rank) was raised to 7000/7000. He founded a number of town e.g Qaim Ganj, Muhammadabad and Farrukhabad, at Farrukhabad, his *Chela* Neknam Khan laid out fort with three gates opening to the north. He also dug a ditch as deep as the height of a man and set up twenty bastions. The palace was called *Bara Mahal*. He also built mosque known as *Bari Masjid* and a hall of audience was called "*Bara Diwan khana*". [73] There were several shops of petty traders within the fort. There were twelve gates to the city seven gates of them were attached with saris, so that from whatever digestion a traveller arrived, he might find a convenient resting place. [74] Many Baghs (grove) were planted, especially noteworthy were the *Naulakha Bagh* and *Bihar Bagh* beneath the fort. The *Bagh* did not contain mango trees but consisted of guava, *ber*,

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[71] SK. Abdur Rashid, *Najib-ud-Daula*, p. 137
[72] *Imad-us-Sadat*, op. cit., p. 73.
[73] W. Irvin, The Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad , *J. A.S.B* (1878), vol. XLVII,p.279.
[74] Ibid .p.279.

custered apple and orange trees. [75] Later Qaim khan (1743-48) son of Ahmad khan planted a *Bagh* known as *Lakhaula Bagh*.[76]

Thus the later Mughal rule witnessed the building of extensive public works and similar other buildings raised by the *Subahdars* and other Mughal officials stationed there. These included mosques *Madarsas, Khanqah, Sarais*, gardens etc. these activities served three objectives.[77]

(i) to assert political authority ,

(ii) to earn rewards in the after –life since it is an act of piety and salvation,

(iii) to project one's personality since the structure were perceived as permanent memorials of the nobles.

The establishment of public works on such large scale brings out another important socio-economic facet. These should have provided gainful employment to a large number of artisans of different categories moreover, these also bring to light the fact that the immense wealth possessed by the Mughal ruling class was not wasted entirely in extravagance and merry making but was often used for public welfare. They also bears testimony to the evolution of regional forms and features of Mughal architecture and are proof of the aesthetic preferences of some of the leading members of the Mughal ruling elite.

7.7 NOBILITY AND COMMUNAL HARMONY:

The middle of the 18th century is one of the most important epochs in Indian history. It forms a watershed between the glorious

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[75] Ibid, p. 280

[76] Ibid, p.338.

[77] Imtiaz Ahmad, The Mughal Governor of Bihar and their Public Works, *P. I.H.C.* 1998, p. 390.

past and the spell of gloom that was to overcast the country in the future. In this span of fifty years several political developments took place which accelerated the process of decay and disintegration of the Mughal Empire. But despite lose of the political power and material prosperity, cultural tradition of the past continued to grow and influence the modes of life. The Kings and nobles followed a policy of tolerance in religious matters and adopted an attitude of reconciliation with elements that had caused strife in the past.

They exhibited great tolerance in dealing with the religious faith and practices being preached and observed in the Indian-Sub-Continent. Their policies were determined by political needs rather than by religious considerations. It goes without saying that the freedom in religious matter alone could not promote communal harmony and concord among the various sections of the society. The religious freedom with eclectic liberalism and mutual respect for each others religions led to the creation of an atmosphere favourable to the growth of communal harmony.

During first half of the 18th century, mysticism too emerged as a central unifying force. It evoked sentiments of harmony and mutual understanding. Sufi/Bhakti saints received homage and respect from Kings and Nobles and also participated in various ceremonies connected with the Sufi trends. Thus they prompted the cultivation of common ways in general set-up of social life. Mohammad Shah (1719-48) was an ardent follower the disciple of Swami Narayan Singh, who founded the Shivanarayani sect in the middle of the 18th century. The followers of this spiritual order

believed in the Ultimate Reality and Worshipped.[78] The establishment of this sect was aimed at a synthesis in religion. Raja Jai Singh, a devout Hindu revered Muslim saints. He visited Shrines and there distributed money in *Nazar* and Charity.[79] Many Hindus became disciples of Shah Kalimullah of Delhi.[80] Anand Ram Mukhlis had great faith in Muslim Sufis. He frequently went to the Shrines of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and Khwaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki.[81] It was the in practices of the Mughal administration to confiscate the property, when a saint was died, in 1721, on the representation of Raja Jai Singh, Muhammad Shah was ordered that officers should not interfere in the affairs of saints who were followed by Hindus and Muslim.[82] Raja Chattrsal Bundela had come under the influence of Shaikh Ruhullah, known in Bundelkhand as Pran Nath. Through this contact with the saint, the Raja developed great regard for Islam and its founder, in whose praise he recited two couplets every morning after taking bath. According to Murtaza Hussain, author of '*Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*,' the Quran and the Puranas were placed on high chairs on opposite sides in the private chamber of the Raja's palace. On each side there sat Ulema and Hindu scholars who, in the presence of the Raja,used to discuss the subject of *Tauhid* (unity of God).[83]

A classical example to maintain communal harmony was *urs* ceremonies at the *dargahs* of famous Sufi-Saints Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Baktiyar Kaki, etc. We have ample

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[78] Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 206.
[79] Akhbarat *Darbar-i-Mualla*, Sarkar collection, Vol. iv Miscellaneous, pp. 113, 115, 131.
[80] *Maktibat-i-Kalimi* (ed.) Muhammad Qasim, No. 21, p. 25.
[81] Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Mira't al-Istilahat,* Aligarh Ms, f. 130a.
[82] *.Akhbarat,*dated ,June,1721,p.22
[83] Akhbarat, dated June 4, 1721, P. 22.

evidence which testify that the shrines had become most important centers for the diffusion of composite culture. The Hindu festivals like Holi, Basant etc., too were celebrated at the Dargahs by Hindu and Muslims alike.

It appears from the contemporary records that the Marathas, Rajputs and other Hindu nobles all paid same respect to Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti as did the Mughals and the Muslim. They regularly visited the *dargah* and also took keen interest in the affairs of the dargah to such extent that many Hindus even held the highest office of *Mutawalli*.[84]

Broughten, imforms us that the Maratha Sardars(Sindhia) were not keen to visit Pushkar after attending ceremonies at the *dargah* and even the offerings, that he sent to the chief purohit at Pushakar was not so valuable as those given to the *khadims* at the shrine.[85]

The spirit of religious tolerance and mutual goodwill was also reflected in the system of revenue free grants (e.g. *milk, Madad-i-Mash, Syurghal*), which the Mughal emperors and nobles granted for the support of religious and educational institutions, Sufi Saints, Bhakti Saints and men of letters etc.

Muhammad Shah accorded due recognition to the position and status of Hindu Shrines and extended vasts patronage to the saints. He granted the villages of Mastipur and Taradih to Mahant Lal Gir in Bodh Gaya(Bihar).

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[84] Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, *Uhda-i-Tawliyat Ajmer*, pp. 53-54.
[85] Thomas Duer Broughten, *Letter written in a Maratha Camp.*, p. 242.

The income from the *Zamindari* area amounted to several lakh of rupees.[86] In 1745, the Emperor granted the village of Basambharpatti, in Pargane Morwah, Sarkar Tirhut in Bihar with exemption from payment of revenue, taxes and other demands etc. in the name of Gosaen Jagannath Das Bairagi as *Khairat*.[87]

Ahmad Shah (1748-54) renewed the previous *Sanad* and release of the rent free village Rampur in Pargana Nanpur, Sarkar Tirhut in the name of Meeti Ram, Bairagi as *Madad-i-Mash*.[88]

Zakariya Khan, the governor of Panjab, by a *Sanad* issued in the 17th R.Y. of Mohammad Shah, confirmed Mahant Hira Nath in the possession of land in the *Pargana* of Narwat, Jakhbar and Pathan on the basis of old imperial orders.[89]

Najid-ud-Daula, the Ruhella chief built big houses at Hardawar for the convenience and comfort of the Hindu pilgrims.[90]

Shuja-ud-Daula, Nawab of Oudh, did not impose undue restrictions on the freedom of Hindu worship or the public celebration of their religious festivals. He conferred a plot of land in Ayodhya to Abhai Bairagi for laying out a garden and constructing *Dharma Shala* for the use of Hindu Saints.[91]

The Rajput princes and the Maratha chiefs were also granted land for the maintenance of the Muslim shrines. For instance, Maharaja Ajit Singh for the maintenance of the famous *dargah* of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti at Ajmer. Maharaja Jagat Singh of Mewar

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[86] *India Divided*, p. 35.
[87] K.K. Datta (ed.) *Some Farmans, Sanads and Parwanas* (1578-1802), p. 116, Parwana No. 532.
[88] Ibid, p. 113, Parwana No. 543.
[89] *The Mughals and Jogi of Jakhbar*, p. 36.
[90] *India Divided.* p. 35.
[91] Najmul Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Oudh,* Vol. V, P. 200.

granted the villages of Ryala, Kotdi, Arreta and Kanya for the same dargah of Ajmer.[92]

Maratha Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao assigned ½ *bigha* of land in *inam* to Shaikh Daud for the maintenance of a Jama Masjid of Pargana Thana.[93]

Shaikh Abu Bakr, *Mutawalli* of Aland, visited Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao and petitioned for the grant of land to meet the expenses of the *urs* ceremony at the tomb of Shaikh Hazrat Allah Din. The Peshwa assigned four villages with a total income of Rs. 77 68 as *inam* to him.[94]

Broughten imforms us that Mahad Ji Sindhiya devotion to Muslim Saints, especially to *Chisti* and even to Muslim religious customs was profound. He bestowed superb *pall* and canopy of cloth of gold upon the grave at Ajmer. He was also devoted to a Muslim *Faqeer* named as Bala Qadir and had granted him a large Jagir in the Deccan.[95]

The Mughal Kings and nobles took part in each others religious as well as non-religious festivals. Yahya Khan Author of *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, informs us that Jahandar Shah took pleasure in seeing the effigy of Rawan burnt on the occasion of *Dasehra*.[96] The festival of *Basant Panchmami* was regularly celebrated with great pomp at the royal court and at the *dargah* also. It had special attraction for both the Hindus and Muslims, who indulged in merry making in the gardens or Shrines. The celebrations which continued

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[92] *Social life in Medieval Rajasthan*, p. 117,121.
[93] *Selection from the Satara Rajas and Peshwa Diaries*, (ed.) P.B. Parasnis, II, letter No. 171 P. 101.
[94] Ibid, Letter No. 190, P. 119.
[95] Thomas Deur Broughten, *Letter written in a Maratha camp*, p.
[96] Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, f. 1196.

for seven days existed mirth for all classes of people and strengthened their mutual contacts.[97] Rai Chatarman informs us that on the day of *Dasehra*, the citizen of Delhi, including *amirs* and rich person, dressed in costly robes went to the bank of Jamuna where the festival was organized.[98] While some Muslim noble's celebrated Hindu festival at their palace. Abdul Hai Taban, a famous poet of 18th c. and contemporary of Amir Khan (am important noble of Mohammad Shah) in his poetry informs us that Amir Khan celebrated *Holi* with his Hindu companion at his own palace.[99]

Ghulam Hussain Tabatabai informs us that the Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh celebrated Hindu festivals eg. *Holi, Diwali, Basant* at their places in royal fashion.[100]

While, Hindus also participated in the Muslim religious festivals i.e *Muharram*, *Shab-i- Baraat.*[101] Broughten informs us that Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior and his officers participated in Muharram processions in green dresses like the Muslims. He also informs us that Mahadji Sindhia mourned for the whole month of Muharram, and removes his ornaments. He also frequently visited to the *Tazia* camp.[102]

Men of talent and experienced among the Hindus and Muslims had occupied position of distinction and honour in the various branches of central administration. They played a conspicuous part in diplomacy, policy making and at the battle-field. When they feel that imperial authority give due recognition to the Marathas,

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[97] *Muraqqa-i-Delhi*, op. cit., pp. 30-33.
[98] Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan Shujai*, f. 39a.
[99] '*Diwan-i-Taban*,' ed. Abdul Haque, pp. 267-68.
[100] *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhrin*, op. cit., vol.ol. ii, pp. 821-22; Muzaffar Nama, ff. 86a, 86b.
[101] *Later Mughal*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 258.
[102] Broughten, letters from Maratha camp, in 1809, PP.

Rajputs and Jats, they endeavored to usurp further the power of the centre. It further affected to the compositions of the provincial administrative element and Noble's army and administrative unit.

The Rajput chieftains, holding high ranks in the government and representing diverse opinions and interests, had asserted their solidarity by forming alliances for mutual security and made their weight felt in the arena in the area of imperial and provincial politics by joining hand with the Muslim nobles in the time of need.[103]

And at the same time Mughal nobles do not seem to have been caught up in a blast of communal fanaticism, while employing persons in the government or in their own establishment. Raja Jai Singh appointed Muslims in his own government or secured jobs for them in the central administration. He respected and helped those who belonged to respectable families. The Muslims sought his recommendation for imperial services.[104] Ali Wardi Khan Governor of Bengal, appointed considerable number of Hindu served in the army and had mansabs to the status of 7000 horse.[105] Raja Sabha Chand, *Diwan* of Zulfiqar Khan, exercised all power in the affairs of financial management.[106] Syed Abdullah Khan gave free hand to Raja Ratan Chand, his trusted *Diwan* in the work of civil administration. The Raja enjoyed power and prestige out of all proportion to the importance of office he held.[107] The central

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[103] Raja Jai Singh undertook two expedition against Churaman Jat in 1717 and 1722, (Sier, II, P. 31; M.L., P. 945), Raja a Girdhav Bahadur fought against the Maratha in the battle of Amjhena and fell down in the field (S.P.D. XIII, Nos. 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; *Malwa in transition*, Ppp 163-164).

[104] Akhbarat, vol. IV, pp. 115,131,113.

[105] *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, op. cit., p. 833.

[106] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, op. cit., p. 69.

[107] *Ibid, pp.* 692, 713, 773.

ministers and provincial governors, perhaps with no exceptions, had Hindu *Diwans* and Secretaries in their services.[108]

The Departments of *Khalsa wa Tan* were invariably under the charge of Hindu officers like Gujjarmal and Bakhtmal.[109]

During this period religious differences never embittered Hindu-Muslim relations or endangered the harmony and unity of society. The internal tension and conflicts among them were primarily caused by divergent economic interests and competitive 'secular' politics rather than by inter-communal feelings. Dynamic rivalries and politico-administrative rivalries led to outbreak of fighting. The armies involved in such warfare had been composed of heterogeneous elements drawn from all religious and races, attracted by the prospects of salaries and change their services at their convenience.

By the mid 18th C, the number of Muslims soldiers in the Maratha armies had started increasing and the *Gardi* force under Muslim captains i.e. Muzaffar Khan and Ibrahim Khan Gardi formed an important element in their military organization.[110]

The army of Janoji Bhonsele of Nagpar included many, Muslim Gardi officers who received more salary than the Hindu officers i.e. Muslim horseman got upto Rs. 30, while a Hindu Horseman not more than Rs. 25.[111]

Mughal nobles whether Hindu or Muslims alike believed that planets affected their destiny and determined the course of their

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[108] For example Mohammad AMin Khan's secretaries were Rai Toda Rai, Rai Bhokchand, and Jaswant Rai, Wazir Qamr-ud-Din Khan's *Diwan* were Anand Ram Mukhlis and Qabil Ram, Nizam-ul-Mulk's Khaims Karan Tazkira-i-Saltin-i-chagtai, f. 2106 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, P. 71.

[109] *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, pp. 259,303.

[110] *Reign of Mohammad Shah*, op. cit., p. 358.

[111] *Tarikh-i-Nagpur*, f. 101.

terrestrial affairs. They felt common curiosity in knowing the future and wished to decide plans of their undertakings with that fore-knowledge. Dargah Quli Khan beautifully describes in his *Muraqqa-i-Delhi* how astrologers earned money by telling the fate of hundreds of person's everyday.[112] Among famous court astrologers of Mohammad Shah, Munajjim Khan, Hadi Ali Khan, Naim Khan etc.[113] Mohammd Amin Khan patronized Shah Abdul Ghafoor for he was well versed in making prophecies and soothsaying.[114] Jan Mohammad Rammal father of Koki Jiu, was repeated in the art of interpreting dreams and making predictions. During Ahmad Shah (1748-54) he had influence at the court.[115]

Raja Jai Singh made a rich contribution to the study of astronomy in those days. He erected in Delhi, Jaipur, Mathura, Banaras and Ujjain, an astronomical observatory at each places, which equipped with instrument brought from central Asian and Europe. The observatory at Delhi Known as *Jantar Mantar* (Yantra Mandir) Still stands out as a brilliant testimony to the greatness of Mughal nobles as an astronomer.[116]

Thus the close associations of Hindu and Muslim nobles with imperial administration and cultural affinities created favourable conditions for the development of communal harmony among them which further affected to the general people of the empire to work and have together above the section discard.

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[112] *Muraqqa-i-Delhi*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
[113] Shakir Khan,*Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani*, f. 112a.
[114] Mohammad Bakhsh Ashob, *Tarikh-i-Shahdat-i-Farrukhsiya wa Jules-i-Mohammad Shah*, f. 118-119.
[115] *Ibid*, f. 86.
[116] Akhbarat (Hindi) Vol. III, Part No. 5, pp.15-16.

Chapter-8

Nobility and the Decline of the Mughal Empire

NOBILITY AND THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

In the monarchical system, nobility formed a great source of power and strength, as was the backbone of the empire. Their power and strength come from the emperor, who was their sole master. Their ultimate responsibility was of the emperor to implement administrative order and executive diplomatic policy was. But their involvement in group politics factional fights for vested interest as clear from the study of this work had which resulted in administrative financial crisises, so deep that even a more capable minister would not have been succeed in couping with the situation.

In a domain such as the Mughal Empire, the responsibility of carrying out the administration, making out vast plans for defense and reorganizing institution to meet the requirements of the day, squarely rested on the governing class (Arkan-i- Daulat). But it was not possible without the consent of the Emperor who were weak during the period under review. As it was born pointed out Nizamul Mulk's reply to Nadir Shah that 'the Emperor did whatever he likes, senior and experienced noble's advices were not appealing and acceptable to him'[1].

There was other factor for the break up of the cordial and working relations between the Emperor and nobility. The Emperor's success actually lay in the dissolution of difference and conflicts of interest among the nobles and the Emperor. The capacity of the

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[1] *Later Mughals,* op. cit., vol. II, p. 353

central power to resolve conflicts between different sections of the nobility over the distribution of emoluments or access to resources diminished as the financial crisis worsened. Moreover the Emperor could no longer afford to alienate any one group in his effort to subdue the tension between office holders. Thus his ability to punish those *Umara*, who exceeded their authority was also compromised, a fact which caused immediate concern to the lower levels of the administration. This significantly diminished the authority of the Emperor and changed his position at the court as well as his relationship with the nobles.[2] It was due to failure of the Emperor, which resulted a shift in relative weight of his power vis-à-vis that of factions of the nobility, which ultimately resulted in intensification of party politics at the court.

Growing factionalism converted the position of the Emperor at the centre merely a helpless spectator. Thus the Mughal *mansabdar*, who were dominant ruling group and commited t o the integration of the empire, earlier, became powerful in the changed circumstance because they more enjoyed more power and position at the centre, and even they compromised to share power with local elements.

One of the great factor which demoralized the army general was the personal disadvantage of the Emperor to lead the army and conducting operations. They had simply been brought on, put on throne and crowned by the faction of the nobles. They were not trained in the art of governance weak in taking in decision thus, they are unable to play any action and visible role.

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[2] Andrea Hintz, *The Mughal Empire and decline*, p. 172

Besides this there was every possibility to persuade the ruler by other factional group of nobles. The fear of this intrigue always present among the talented and ambitious nobles. For example when Nizam-ul-Mulk was engaged in Gujrat and Malwa to suppress, the revolt of Mughal *Subadar* Haider Quli khan and Dost Mohammad in respective provinces, his opposition group taking advantage of his absence at the imperial court successfully changed the atmosphere there and his successful actions were deliberately calculated and highlighted as personal gains and an attempt to control all power in his hand.

In spite of group competition and conflict talented an ablest ministers were well wisher Mughal empire. They chalked out administrative reforms programs and there were presented to the Emperor. For example when Nizam-ul-Mulk assumed charge of the wizarate, he planned a detailed administrative reform, curtailing *Peshkash,* that only fit nobles and soldiers be employed, further assignment of *Jagir* should be withheld and redistributed, more lands brought under *khalsa-Jagir*, revenue farming (*Ijara*) of *Khalsa* should be stopped.[3] These suggestions were also advanced by Shah Waliullah in a letter to the Emperor.[4]

But these proposals were opposed by another group of nobles, by Koki Jiu (consort of emperor), who was afraid that implementation of these proposals means, deprivation of their privileges, interest and gain. With the influence of this group Emperor rejected the proposals, thus without the full support and will power of the Emperor to improve the administrative crisis, no

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[3] Chapter. IIIrd

[4] Shah waliullah ke siyasi Maktubat, letter No. 1.

Wazir was in position to execute his reform and measures. In this way talented, capable and ambitious nobles like Nizam-ul-Mulk, Saadat Khan, Najib-ud-Daulah, Safdar Jang etc. Founding in the court little chance to renovate the administration. They decided to left the court and carved out their own principalities and therefore devoted themselves fully to the establishment at least a unit of their own for good administration in areas under their jurisdiction. No doubt they were high ranking nobles of the Mughal Empire, who established Semi independent regional and successor states. They had received their official appointments from the Emperor, and never break up the loyalty and contact with the centre.

The nobility present an amiable contrast character to each other. During a number under review of nobles had good character disciplined life but except few big amirs, many other did not bestow personal care on the maintenance of discipline and drill of horsemen under their command. Sarbuland Khan, Mir Jumla. Amir Khan and several others kept pay of soldiers in arrears, reducing them to an object condition. The economic insecurity seriously affected the disciplines of soldiers and undermined their morale. The contemporary Urdu poets and scholar[5] have bewailed the soldiers ruin that had over taken the soldiers in Delhi. They consider it as one of major cancer responsible for the decline of the Mughal empire.

The Mughal army's real strength lay in cavalry. It had played a prominent role in the battles and continued to hold dominant position till the mid eighteenth century, when infantry with rapidly

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[5] Shah waliullah in his letter. No. 1.

firing muskets, equipped with gun-power and organized on the European model threw it into background Nadir Shah's and Ahmad Shah Abdali's success lay in the irresistible power of mobile musketry. The striking success of the Persian and Afghan general, through the means of new weaponry and superb leadership, left a deep impress on the minds of the Indian generals and governors. Some of them took steps to re-organize and re-equip their troops on new lines. For example Ali Mohammad Rohilla, Safder Jang and Najib-ud-Daula to improve the strength and efficiency of their respective infantry armed them with musketry and gun power. About Najib-ud-Daulah's generalship J.N. Sarkar remarks that he had no equal in that age except Ahmad Shah Abdali'.[6]

The efficiency of Mughal army depended on the efficient working of the *jagirdari* system, which provided the economic basis for the whole Mughal empire . The *mansabdar* or the commanders of the army were paid through assignment of land revenue. The assignment system with its uniform methods of revenue collection and effective control over *manasabdar*, operated successfully under great Mughals, but when inherent defects appeared, the Mughal emperor failed to remove them, resulted that by 1750 it collapsed. The crisis in *Jagirdari* system affected the whole character of the army and brought it to the lowest levels of efficiency and discipline.

For Nizam-ul-Mulk's measures of reforms in the system of assignment were not carried out, and *Ijara* system spread widely in *jagir* and *khalisa* area, ruining the products.

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[6] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol. II p. 415

Although Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shah Wali-Ullah insisted on its abolition from the *khalisa Mahals*, revenue farming continued to operate on a wide scale and after the invasion of Nadir shah it became rampant in large parts of the empire. The practice led to increase the financial problem of *mansabdar* and the King.

The financial problem of mansabdars endengired the subsistence level. In order to counter the personal effects of crisis, the nobels started more systematically than ever before to deviate from imperial regulations to make up for their individual losses. The failure of the centre to assist its mansabdars in realizing its income in times of local difficulty forced the later to build up more the prosperous provinces. By resisting frequent transfer of jagir and getting on payment in name of *peshkash* converting offices into hereditary holding's, the *mansabdar* tried to ensure a regular income for them selves.

The crisis of *jagirdari* system intensified by inducting more *mansabdar* during our studied period during 1739- 1761 there was 69 *mansabdar* holding 5000 to 7000 *mansab* but it raised to 135 by 1761. The *jagirdari* crisis ultimately led to the intensification of factional feuds within the higher ranks of the nobility. The rival factions bared on family groups, struggled for possession of fertile and easily manageable *jagir*. This factionalism was further aggravated by the emperor, who himself participating in this struggle by supporting to one group instead of sorting out discord among nobles finding difficult the solution at the court, the *jagir* holders devoted themselves to the establishment of semi-independent principalities in areas under their jurisdiction.

Thus the source of decline of Mughal Empire was clearly in personality of the Emperor, which led to ignorance of administration and activities of *mansabdars*. Ultimately it led to decadence of its military, economic and civil institutions. The decay followed a chain pattern, the effect of one defect transforming itself into a chain of another. The chain started from the Emperor could not break without a wholesale transformation of the every nature of the Mughal regime. It may be urged that the Mughal empire could be saved, if a change could have been brought in the ruling class from top to bottom. The failure in this direction was not at the middle or lower level, but the source of power, which rode to the chariot of the imperial order.

Chapter-9
Conclusion

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study on' Composition and role of the Nobility 1739-61', reveals that the nobility was not Dominant minority in all sphere of imperial administration contrary to, what is generally believed. It is, therefore, difficult to agree with the contention that the nobility was solely responsible for the decline/disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

The internal and external m military assault (Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Maratha) led to emerge a distinctive economic, political and administrative pattern of the Mughal Empire.

Under the later Mugal's India continued to be a centre of a attraction for job hunting. And decline of the Safavid Empire, accelerated the Iranis and Afghanistanis migration into India, e.g. Syed Hadi Ali's gamily, Naqi khan (Court physicians of Mohammad Shah), Alavi Khan Mohammad Hashim in 1711 (belonged to Shah Abbas I's family) etc. Shah Nawaz Khan the author of *Masir -ul Umara* remarks that the Safavid dynasty came to end, many of the Abbas's family saved them selves by migration to India.[1]

We also get evidences that Europeans also got the Indian titles and they were inducted into the Mughal nobility. Even Jahangir (1605-27) wanted to make Wiliam Hawakins, an Amir. Later on Frenchman M. Bussy received the title of *Saif-ud-*

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[1]. *Masir-ul-Umara.*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 139

Daulah (Sword of the state). Later the English East India Company's governor Robert Clive had been inducted into the Mughal imperial system with the title of *Nawab Zabdat-ul-Mulk Moinud Daulah Sabat Jang Bahadur'* in 1760 with the *mansab* (rank) of 6000/5000. After him the governor of the *Fort William* (except Ho Iwell) and the principal officers of the company's army and civil services were granted titles and were included within the Mughal imperial system.

Thus during first half of the 18th century nobility class was comprised of different races, castes, religions and nationalities.

Nevertheless, Iranis, Turanis and Indians form the groups of nobilities who were occupying leading position, inspite of that the struggle for power continued among them. During the reign of Farrukh Siyar (1712-18) and first two years of Mohammad Shah (1817-48), the Indian faction of nobility was in dominant position under Syed Brothers Abdullah Khan (d. 1721) and Hussain Ali khan (d. 1720). With the help of Turani leader Nizam-ul-Mulk (d.1748) and Mohammad Amin Khan (d. 1721), the Emperor Mohammad Shah successfully liquidated the hegemony of the Syed Brothers. After that the Turani group enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor. With the departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccen in 1724, the Emperor made new appointment mainly to Iranis except the *Wazir*, Qamruddin khan. Nadir Shah's invasion (1739) further enhanced the position of Irani's at the Mughal court and Turanis loss their position.

But with the departure of Safdar Jang to Oudh (1753) and the death of Ahmad Shah (1754) the Turani group grab the power under Imad-ul-Mulk (1754-61) and Intizam-ud-Daulah (1753-54). During this period the power struggle was intensified. Now it remained confined within the group.

In the first half of the 18th C. the power struggle was revolved around the office of *Wizarate*. The problem started with the appointment of Munim Khan (d. 1711) by Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) to the post of *Wizarate*. It was against the wish of Aurangzeb to appoint Asad Khan, who was an experienced and ably served to the Mughal Empire. But the appointment of Munim Khan (1707) to the highiest post of *Wazir*, encouraged to the lesser known nobles to contest the coveted post.

During first half of the 18th century, the post of *Wizarate* was held by Munim Khan (1707-11), Zulfiqar khan (1712-13), Syed Abdullah khan (1713-21), Amin Khan (1721), Nizam-ul-Mulk (1722-24), Qamr-ud-Din Khan (1724-48), Safadar Jang (1748-53), Intizamud-Daulah (1753-54) and Imad-ul-Mulk (1754-61). Almost every one except the last tow Imad-ul-mulk and Intizam-ud-Daulah did his best to provide political stability to the Mughal Empire. Inspite of that, each group of the nobility displayed greed of power to retain them selves in the Mughal Court. As the *Wazir* of the Mughal Empire Nizam- ul-Mulk (1722) propoosed (a) administrative reforms almost same measure was later suggested by shah Wali-u-llah,[2] and

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[2]. Shah Waliullah Ke Siyasi Maktubat, (ed.)K.A. Nizami, letter No.1.

(b) to develop diplomatic relation with Iran. Regarding the policy against foreign invasion (1739), unlike the view of the other groups of the Nobility, he tried to obtain peaceful treaty. But it proved inevitable resulting accelerating into decline/disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

The Emperor had lost the basic sense of response to the new challenges of the Empire. As a result he give undue support to the opposition group of Nizam-ul-mulk (1723) and Safdar Jang (1748-53) resulting in departure to their respective province Hyderabad (1724) and Oudh in 1753. It further deteriorated the atmosphere of the Mughal Court. In spite of that the Emperor easily came under the influence of Amir Khan, eunuch Javed Khan (d. 1752) and some low born women like Koki Jiu (1721-3), Lal Kunwar (1712-13) and Udham Bai (1748-53). They exercised considerable influence on the politics of the day, sometimes directly and often indirectly. Thus frustrated to the plan and reform measures of competent and able nobles, led finally break up of the relations between the emperor and the nobility.

The cohesion between the Emperor and the nobility, as well as within the nobility rested upon the mutual interdependence. Therefore the identity of interest in certain areas was perhaps, the basic factor in emperor's compromising attitude and noble's loyalty towards the crown. The rebellious attitude of the nobility expressed the element of mutual contradiction between crown and the nobility. The minimization and maximization of such possibilities, depends upon the

circumstances, policies and plans of the Emperor and the opportunities to both the crown and the nobles to enhance power.

The linkage between *mansab* and *Jagir* proved to be effective weapon in the hands of the Emperor to control & manage the nobility. In addition the running of the Mughal administration depended upon the efficient working of the *Mansabdari* system. The assignment system with its uniform methods of revenue collection and effective control over *Mansabdar*, operated successfully under the Great Mughals. But when its defects appeared Nizam-ul-Mulk (d. 1748)[3] and Shah Waliullah[4] (1702-1760) suggested reform measures in *mansabdari* system, were not carried out, because of that the emperor did not give, his consent. Thus the system became increasingly unworkable and after 1748, it collapsed, consequently the Emperor's control over the nobility was lost.

This study also reveals that the rise and fall of the *Mansab* (rank) figure was mainly resting upon the personal relations and service to the emperor rather than to the empire. And during first half of the 18th C. the administrative experience and diplomatic skill was secondary thing to hold highest post in the Mughal administration. As a result, we have evidence that incompetent and inexperienced people like Jawed Khan (d. 1752), with Udham Bai become sole disposer

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[3] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab.*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 947

[4] *Shah waliullah ke Siyasi Maktabat* edited and (translated) K.A. Nizami, letter, No. 1.

of administration.[5] Other such nobles are Ahmad Ali khan, Hafiz Khidmatgar, Roshan-ud-Daulah and Shah Abdul Ghafur *with active support of Rahim-un-Nisan popularly known as Koki* Jiu, interfered in all sphere of administrative matter.

The role of the nobility in the administration can be assessed by their proposals to improve administration. But without the concern of the emperor it was not possible to implement these suggested reforms. Later on, when they established semi-independent states they maintained firm and efficient administration to the province. They tried to maintain an all India outlook even if they were more concerned with the stability of the regions, where they had their *Jagirs*. They accepted the *Farmans* issued by the king, regarding to the appointed of officers.

In spite of political instability, the nobles of that period retained the cultural tradition of the Great Mughals. When the imperial capital Delhi and Agra was declined, traditionally they founded some towns e.g. Faizabad by Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk (1729-39) and improved by Safdar Jang and Shuja-ud-Daulah (1754-75), Farrukhabad founded by Mohammad khan Bangash in 1714 named after the reigning Mughal King Farrukhs-iyar (1713-19), he also founded other town *Qain Ganj*, after the name of this eldest son Qaim khan. Other town which was established during this period was Najibabad by Najib-ud-Daulah in 1755. George Foster "Najib wanted to make it a centre of trade and commerce which proved true in

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[5] *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 206; Alexaidar Dow, *The History of Hindustan*, vol. II, p. 460.

subsequent years."[6] Thus the merchant and artisans migrated to the provincial centre, where they get friendly reception and ready market for their services.

In the absence of imperial education system for general mass, the nobles extended their patronage to men of letters and educational institution. Perhaps to acquire knowledge and help it diffuse was a great passion of the Mughal nobles. So that most of the educational institution (Madarsas) in Delhi and provinces owed their existence to the munificence of aristocrats. Some prominent nobles established and maintained *Madarsa*, which were known by founder e.g *Madarsa-i- Ghaziuddin Khan, Madarsa-i-Sharfuddaulah, Madarsa-i-Roshanuddaulah* etc.

Najib-ud-Daulah also founded *Madarsa* at Najibabad, where free education with flooding and lodging were provided to the poor students. Inspired by the Great Mughal Emperors, they maintained libraries e.g Nawab Loharu's library, Raja Shitab Library, Library of Oudh, library of Rohilla, libraries of Farrukhabad.[7] They also abundantly showered their patronage over poets and men of letters. For example Nawab Amir Khan (d. 1752) extended patronage to the famous poets of the age e.g Rashikh, Shakir, Shah Hatim and Mir Zahik Asaf Jah patronized to Mirza Bedil, and Mazhar Jan-i-Jana. Imad-ul-Mulk extended their patronage to Mir Taqi Mir. (1H3-1810). A large number of scholars get patronage at Farrukhabad, Najibabad,

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[6] George Foster, *A Jourhey from Bengal to England, through northern India to Russia*, vol. I, p. 141

[7] S.A. Zafar Nadvi, Libraries in Muslim India, *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXI, pp. 1946 3-20.

Ouadh, Hydrabad, Patna and Bengal. Even first poet in northern India, who compiled a *diwan* in *Rekhta* come from the class of noble that was Nawab Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Faiz.[8] They also organized *Mushaira*
(Poetic gathering) at their residence like Nasir Jang, Amir khan, Zakarya khan, Alivardi Khan Nawab of oudh etc. thus in the development of Urdu language and Literature, nobility played an important role.

During the period of our study, dance and music were the chief means of indoor recreation for the nobles. Influenced by the imperial court, at their centre, they maintained professional singer and dance. No festivities or function whether of social or quasi-i-religious character could be observed without their participation Nobles organized musical parties at their haveli (mansion) e.g Latif Khan, Amir Khan Roshan-ud-Daulah and maintained a party of *qawwals*, most famous among than was Sohana.[9] Azam Khan, has perfect command in music and rags and is often praised by the Hindustani musicians. Another, Latif khan, *Panch hazari mansabdar* of Mohammad Shah (1719-48) was so well versed in *rags* that even Nemat Khan (a famous musician of his age) applauds his style of signing.[10] Mubariz -ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan another noble of Mohd. Shah, studied music under the guidance of yari, Lala Bengali and other. His contemporary regarded him as second to non on the harp (musical

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[8]. *Diwan-i- Faiz* (ed.) Masud Hasan Rizwi, p. 8
[9] Dargah Quli Khan, *Muraqqa-i-Delhi,* (translated) C. Shekhar and Shama Mitra,p. 105.
[10] Ibid. p. 40-41.

instrument). He used to sing *Khayal* and *dhrupad.* He also wrote a book entitled *'Dhrupad Trana wa Khayal-i-Taza'* and dedicated to Mohammad shah.[11]

Shah Nawaz Khan, the author of *'Maasir-ul-Umara'* wrote about Saif Khan that he was a skilled musician and composed a treatise on music entitled *'Rag-i-Darpan'*.[12]

During, first half of the 18th century, the art of painting patronized by the Mughal noble and the princely courts, so many remains come to us that one may asses both the quality and the development of this art. Nadir shah's conquest (1739) and th attacks of the Marathas disrupted painting in Delhi. The painters went to new centers in India, to Lucknow, Murshidabad, Hyderabad and Patna.

Thus the Mughal school of painting lost its oneness and development of different *Qalam* (a convenient term to designat local school) e.g. Patna Qalam, Murshidabad Qalam, Oudh Qalam etc. these *qalam* have certain freshness in composition, colour, scheme, mood and treatment of landscape.

The painting was part of the new romanticism of the age. The women mixing with men, princess participating in fire-work, drinking party, participating in festival etc. the artists of the period are not very well known. We have names of individuals and of families but our information about them is not remarkable.[13]

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[11] Tazkira-i-Muzaffari, op. cit., vol. I, ff. 254ab.

[12] . *Masir-ul-Umara*, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 479-85.

[13] M. Abdullah Chaghtai "A Few Hindu Miniature – Painters of the 18th and 19th Centuries, *Islamic culture* (1934),vol. VIII, pp. 402-409."

We also notice that the noble emulated the emperor in the construction of buildings and laying out gardens etc. it was commencing with Mohammad Shah's reign that considerable building activity took place within the imperial capital Delhi and outside. The building activities were continued both before and after the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, suggesting that his attack had less devastating effect than is commonly believed. A number of Mosques built eg. Sunahri Mosque built in 1721-22 by Roshan-ud-Daulah, Fakhrrul-Masjid (1728-29), Sunahri mosque (1744-45), third Sunahri mosque was built by Qudsia Begam and Javed khan in 1750-51, other religious structure *Qadam Sharif* was built in 1759-60, she also built several religious structures at *Shahi Mardan* in Delhi. Thus a variety of mosques was erected during 1739-61, diversity in form and ornament.[14] These *Mosque* are more robust in appearance than the mosque built under the great Mughals. It also bears considerably less stucco ornaments. Whether this change in aesthetic was conscious is unclear, but the solid yet austere appearance suggests an infusion of new stability into the city.[15]

In a about 1750, Javed Khan and Udham Bai (mother of reigning king Ahmad Shah 1748-54) build a palace and garden complex, known as Qudsia Bagh. This building marks a change from the classical grandeur of the Mughal tombs to the *Roccoco*. In the building, straight lines become broken, curved

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[14]. Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge history of India; Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 299.
[15]. Ibid, p. 302.

platforms are rounded and columns and arches are richly decorated. Hermann Geotze described the result as a "shifting of the aesthetic accent from an emotional and dynamic ideal."[16]

Safdar Jang the Mughal *Wazir* and governor of Oudh, never regarded himself as independent, but part of the empire. After his death in 1754, his body was transported to the imperial capital, Delhi; there his son Shuja-ud-Daulah built an enormous mausoleum. This square plant tomb is in the centre of a walled *Char bagh* complex. Safdar Jang's tomb bears many features characteristic of mid-eighteenth century architecture. These include complex stucco ornament on the interior, cusped rounded entrance arches, central *pishtaqs* surmounted by a series of bulbous domes and a central dome that rests on a tightly constricted drum. This tomb exerted considerable influence on the mausoleum of the subsequent *nawabs* of Awadh and their queens.

During first half of the 18th century squabbles and intriguing among the aristocratic faction was the main feature, but in spite of that the daughters, sisters and wives of the great nobles and in general the women were held in high respect. The enemy soldiers treated them with respect and a European traveler Verelst boasted in these words that the "women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and

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[16] H. Goetze, "The Qudsia Bagh at Delhi Delhi; Key to late Mughal Architecture," *Islamic Culture* (1952), XXVI P. 133.

devastation."[17] The nobility class also set new trends for the development of women's position. They give them due importance by accepting their good ideas in party-politics and administration e.g. Nafisa Begam, Ghasiti Begam (She opposed the accession of Siraj-ud-Daulah), Durdana Begam (Wife of Murshid Quli Khan II, she encouraged him to fight against Ali Vardi Khan), wife of Ali Vardi Khan, occasionally participated in the battlefield with him. Even she played important role as a supreme political officer in Bengal, whilst her husband in battle with the Marathas. Thus they actively participated in day today political development. The first half of 18th Century was also instrumental in a Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis. The Mughal nobles do not seem to have been caught up in a blast of communal fanaticism while employing persons in the government offices or in their own establishment. Raja Jai Singh appointed Muslim in his own government or secured jobs for them in the central administration. The Muslims sought recommendation for imperial services.[18] Ali Vardi Khan, Governor of Bengal appointed considerable number of Hindu officers in his government Raja Sabha Chand the *Diwan* of Zulfiqar Khan exercised full power in the management of civil and financial matter.[19]

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[17]. Verelst , *A view of the Rise etc*, (London 1772), p.138; also in Scrafton, '*Reflection on the Government of HinduStan,* pp.33-34; Grose, '*A voyage to the East Indies* (London, 1766) vol. I, p. 240.

[18]. Zahiruddin Malik 'Some Aspects Mughal culture during the first half of the 18th century, *Islamic Culture*,Hyderabad (1955) Vol. II, p.28'

[19] Ibid, p. 28.

The Muslims and Hindu noble participated alike in each other festivals and fairs without inhibitions or prejudices. Rai Chatarman writes that on the day of *Dasehra*, the citizens of Delhi including *amirs,* went to the bank of Jamuna where the festival was organized.[20] Mir Abdul Hai Taban a contemporary Urdu poet, composed a poem in his simple, giving an account of the Holi festival Amir Khan performed at his own palace. In spite of that the Mughal Empire was disintegrating, it seems that the Emperor could not successfully find a stable equilibrium between the contradiction of the nobility and the crown. The presence of a number of principalities with peace and prosperity links the unpopularity of the Emperor among the nobility and to the people. Saadullah Khan rightly remarked that "no age is wanting able men, it is the business of wise master to find out, win them over and get work done by them."[21]

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[20] Rai Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan,* f. 39a.

[21] *Muntakhab Lubab*, op. cit., vol. I. p

Appendices

APPENDIX - 1

MOHAMMAD SHAH (1719 – 48)

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
1	Abdullah Khan	Baraha	7000/7000	Waziv	M.U, I, pp. 79-80, Text.vol.III, pp.130-140
2	Hussain Ali Khan	"	7000/7000	Mir Bakhshi	M.U, I, pp.
3	Nizam-ul-Mulk	Turani	9000/9000	Wazir in 1721-1724	M.U, II, pp. 409-54, Text. III, p. 880
4	M. Amin Khan	Turani	8000/8000	Wazir, 1700	M.U,II, pp.114-117, M.L,II, p.911, Kanwar, f.373b
5	Qamruddin Khan	Shaikh (Indian)	8000/8000	II Bakhshi	M.L,II,p.911,Kamwar,f.373b,M.U,II,p.388
6	Samsam-ud-Daula Khan-i-Dauran	Indian	8000/8000	Mir Bakhshi	M.L,II,p.911, Kamwar, f.373b
7	Haider Quli Khan	Irani	7000/7000	Mir Atish	M.U,I,601-02,Kamwar, f.373 b, Text.III, pp.611-13
8	Roshan-ud-Daula	Indian	7000/7000	III Mir Bakshi	M.L, II, p.911, Kamwar, f.373

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
					b, M.U,II, pp.605-08
9	Iradat Khan		7000/3000	Diwan-i-Khalsa	Kamwar f. 373 b
10	Saifullah Khan		6000/5000	III Bakhshi	M.L,II,p.911,Kamwar,f.373b,M .U,II, p.695, Text.II, p.485
11	Mir Jumla	Turani	7000/7000	Sadr	M.U,II, P.60, Kamwar, f.374 a
12	Inayat-ullah Kashmiri	Kashmiri	7000/7000	Khan-i-Saman	Kamwar, f.377 b
13	Dil Dilaer Moinuddaut Khan	Indian	6000/6000	Head of escheat	T.M, 95, Kamwar, 376 b
14	Jaswant Rai	Kayastha	6000/6000	Peshkar of Khalsa	Kamwar, 374 a
15	Kirpan Ram	"		Peshkar in Tan	Kamwar
16	Hidayat Ullah Khan	Kashmiri		Sup. Of Menial works	Kamwar, f 376 b
17	Ata Ali Khan	Kashmiri		Keeper of arsenal	T.M, 93
18	Muzaffar Khan		7000/5000	Sup. Of Retinue	M.L, II, p.911, Kamwar, 376 b
19	Saadat Khan	Irani	7000/7000	Sub.of Khawas	M.U, I, p.425-28, Kamwar,

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
	Burhan-ul-Mulk				f.376 b
20	Abdus Samad Khan	Turani	7000/7000		M.U, I, p. 71-72
21	Khawjas Hamid Khan	Shaikh		Qazi-ul-Qazzat	Kamwar, f.378 b
22	Raja Jai Singh	Rajpute	7000/7000	Malwa	Tras.M.U, I, p.731-734, Text III,pp.568-577
23	Mohd. Khan Bangash	Afghan	7000/7000	Malwa	M.U, II, pp.160-64 Text III, pp.771-774
24	Mohd. Hashim	Irani	7000/7000		M.U, II, p.139
25	Sarbuland Khan Maburizul Mulk	Irani (d.1745)	7000/7000 (d.1745)	Governer of Gujrat	M.U, II, 704-708, Text III pp. 801-06
26	Uetfallah Khan		7000/7000	Governor of Delhi	Laten Mughal, II, p.362
27	Sher Afghan Khan	Indian	7000/7000	Darogha-i-Risala-i-Sultani	Siev, II, 457-58
28	Nasir Jaug	Turani	7000/7000		M.U, II, pp. 848-862
29	Nasir Khan	Afghan	7000	Kabul in 1738	M.U, II, pp. 384-386

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
30	Salabat Jaug	Turani	7000		
31	Nizam Jaug	Turani	7000		
32	Raja Abhaj Singh	Rajput	7000/7000	Jodpur	K.K., 974, Khush-kal, 1044 b
33	Vindat-ul-Ami Khan	Irani	7000	Supp.of Artillery 1743-46	M.U,II,pp.1063-1065, Text.II, pp.839-841
34	Safdar Jaug	Irani	7000/Mir Afish1944	Governar of Oudh 1739	M.U, I, pp.137-40 Ch.Cuel. p.393
35	Shujauddaulah	Irani	7000		M.U, II, pp. 866-71
36	Murshid Qali Khan		7000	Leputy Governer of Bengol	Laten Mughal, I, p. 262
37	Ishaq Khan I (Irani)		7000	Tuter of Mohd. Shah	LaterMushal, II, p. 354
38	Zakariya Khan	Turani	7000	Governor Lahore	Later Mughal, I, p. 352
39	Najmud Daulah		7000		
40	Ali Wardi Khan		7000	Naib of Patna	M.U,I,pp. 196-197, Text.II, pp.843-47
41	Syed Salabat Khan		7000		

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
42	SadUddin Khan	Turani	7000	Mir Afish (d1743)	Cahen Gulzar Sh p.393; Imad, p.35
43	Ziauddaula		7000		
44	Sayid Nusrat yar Khan		7000/7000		
45	Raja Girdhar Bahaden		7000		Mlik, p.291
46	Khauja Abdullah		7000		" "
47	Azog Ljam Chaghtai		7000		" "
48	Shamat Khan		7000		" "
49	Allahwardi Khan		7000		M.U, I, pp. 205 – 208
50	Nawazish Mohd. Khan		7000		Malik, 291
51	Zainuddin Ahmad Khan		7000		" "
52	Saeed Ahmad Khan		7000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
53	Alaullah Khan		7000		" "
54	Intizam-ud-Daula	Turani	6000		" "
55	Muinul Mulk	Turani	6000	Governor of Lahore and Multan	M.U, II, p.490, Text. I, p. 358
56	Sadruddin Khan		6000		Malik, 291
57	Fakhruddin	Turani	7000	Bakhshi of Ahadis	M.U, II, p. 607, Text. II, p. 335
58	Mir Baqa Khan		6000		Malik, 291
59	Khani Zaman Khan		6000		" "
60	Azam Khan		6000		" "
61	Amin-ud Daule		6000		" "
62	Fakhruddanlah		6000		" "
63	Munawwar Khan		6000		" "
64	Qaim Khan	Afghan (Bangal)	6000		" "
65	Anwar Khan		6000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
66	Mazhar Khan		6000		" "
67	Ma'ab Khan		6000		" "
68	Sherjang		6000		" "
69	Qaim Jang		6000		Malik, 291
70	Ghairat Khan Salabat Jang		6000		" "
71	Bairam Khan		6000		" "
72	Aqidat Khan		6000		" "
73	Naimat Ullah Khan		6000		" "
74	Saif Khan		6000		" "
75	Khan Zad Khan d. 1755	Irani	600/5000		Cater Mughal,vol.II, P.192,M.U,II, p. 708 Text, M.U,III, P.806
76	Yahya Khan		6000		Malik, 291
77	Shah Nawaz Khan		6000		" "
78	Riyat Khan		6000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
79	Ahmad-ul-Mulk		6000		" "
80	Ghalib Jang		6000		Malik, 291
81	Mir Mushraf		6000		Malik, 291
82	Ahmad Khan Baugash		6000		" "
83	Hamid Uddin Khan Neemcha		6000		" "
84	Ali Ahmad Khan	Brother of Kokijiu	6000	Arz-i-Mukarrar	Warid, p.60, Center Mughal,II, p.270
85	Ali Hamid Khan	Mother of Kokijiu	6000		Malik, 291
86	Ali Amjad Khan		6000		" "
87	Ali Asghar Khan	Brother of Kokijiu mdian	6000		" "
88	Bandi Ali Khan		6000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
89	Murid Khan				" "
90	Murtaza Khan		6000		" "
91	Saiyed Nayaz Khan		6000		" "
92	Najmuddin Ali Khan		6000		" "
93	Sayid Hasan Khan		6000		" "
94	Mir Hasan Khan Koka		6000		" "
95	Fateh Ullah Khan Koka		6000		" "
96	Momin Khan		6000		" "
97	Ghazi Uddin Khan d. 1752	Turani	6000	Bakhshi of Ahadis	" "
98	Tarbiyat Khan		5000		" "
99	Diler Himmat Khan		5000		" "
100	Inayat Khan Rasikh		5000		" "
101	Hidayat Ullah Khan		5000		Malik, 291

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
102	Fakhar Khan		5000		" "
103	Bairam Khan		5000		" "
104	Ruhullah Khan		5000		" "
105	Mohmud Beg Khan		5000		" "
106	Ahmad Quli Khan		5000		" "
107	Abdul Baqi Khan		5000		" "
108	Abdul Majid Khan		5000		" "
109	Yadgar Khan		5000		" "
110	Mustafa Quli Khan		5000		" "
111	Saiyid Nijabat Ali Khan		5000		" "
112	Saijid Mukkammal Khan		5000		" "
113	Ikhlas Khan		5000		" "
114	Hakim Khan		5000		" "
115	Shadad Khan		5000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
116	Kajim Ali Khan		5000		" "
117	Shariyat Ullah Khan		5000		" "
118	Ubaidullah Khan		5000		" "
119	Jafar Qali Khan		5000		" "
120	Abdul Wahab Khan		5000		" "
121	Mir Nasr Ullah Khan		5000		" "
122	Mir Kallu		5000		" "
123	Abdul Sattar Khan		5000		" "
124	Shahmat Khan		5000		" "
125	Ahmad Zaman Khan		5000		" "
126	Arlat Zama Khan		5000		Malik, 291
127	Takhtamash Khan		5000		" "
128	Tanish Khan		5000		Tarikh-i-Shahadat, f. 83
129	Najib Ali Khan	Mughal	5000		" "
130	Qara Khan		5000		" "
131	Jani Khan		5000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
132	Jan Nisar Khan		5000		" "
133	Kaka Khan		5000		" "
134	Abu Tara Khan		5000		" "
135	Kokaltash Khan		5000		" "
136	Agha Khan		5000		" "
137	Dawar Dad Khan		5000		" "
138	Mansiyar Khan		5000		" "
139	Sabit Khan		5000		" "
140	Asad Yar Khan (d. 1745)	Indian/Irani	6000.8 Nov. 1739	Darogha of Harkara	Sier,iii,II,ChaharW Shukai, p.383
141	Niamat Ullah Khan		5000		Reign of Woudsheh, 292
142	Tegh Beg Khan Mirza Gul (d.1746)			Sup. of Surat	M.U, II, pp.950-51
143	Fathyab Khan (d.1743)	Governor of Aurangagarh			

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
		alias Mulher			
144	Haider Quli Khan Muizuddaulah				
145	Majdudaulch Abdul Ahad Khan	Kashmiri	6000/6000	Divan of Khoka and Tan 1739	M.U,II,pp.1054-1055, Text.III, pp,807-808
146	Tegh Beg Khan			Sup. of Part Surat	M.U,II,pp.950-951,Text.I, 504-505
147	Raja Sultanji (d.1748)	Maratha	7000		M.U, II, p.894, Text.II, pp.338-340
148	Hanuant Rao (d.1762-63)	Maratha	7000		M.U, p.894, Text.II, pp.338-340
149	Saadat Khan Zulfiqar Jang		6000	4th Bakhshi	M.U, II, p.653, Text.II, p.525
150	Abdus Samad Khan Behadur Diler Jang (Saifuddaula)		7000/7000	Governer of Multan	M.U, I, p.73, Text,II, pp. 514-517

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
151	Abhai Sing (Maharaja)	Rajput		Governer of Gujrat (1728-	M.U, I, p. 175
152	Amir Khan II Uwdat-ul-Milk	Irani		IIIrd Bakshi	Sier, iii, p. 13, Shakir, p. 86
153	Ishar Khan II (13th August 1747)	Irani		Diwau-i-Khalsa	Sier, ii, p. 100
154	Ali Mohd Ruhela	Afghan	4000/4000	Faujdar of Sirhind	Sarkar, Fall Mughal I, p.35

Apendix – II

Appointment in 1720

After the fall of Syed Brothers

S.No	Name	Groupe	Mansab	Office	Reference
1	Mohd. Amin Khan Himad-ud- Daula	Mughal	8000/8000	Wazir	Kamwar,f.3736, A.K, f.176
2	Khwajah Asim Samsam-ud-Doula, Khan-i-Dauran	Shaikh (Indian)	7000/7000	Mir Bakshi	" " A.K, f. 176
3	Qanr-ud-Din Khan	Mughal	7000/7000	IInd Bakshi Darogha-i-Diwan Khas	" " A.K, f. 176
4	Zafar Khan Bahadur Roshan-ud-Daula, Rustam	Indian (Muslim)	7000/7000	IIIrd Bakshi, Mir Bakshi of Ahalis	" "
5	Saifullah Khan, Aqidat Khan	"	6000/5000	IVth Bakshi	" "
6	Iradat Mand Khan, Sharfud	"	5000/3000	Diwan Khalsawa	" " A.K, f.

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
	Daulah			Tan	176
7	Haider Quli Khan, Muiz-ud Daulah Nasir Jang	Mughal	6000/6000	Mir Atash Governor of Gujrat	" " Text. M.Y, III, pp. 611-13
8	Iradat Mand Khan,Sharafud Daulah	Khanzad	5000/6000	Diwan-Khalsawa Tan	" "
9	Mir Jumla	Mughal	7000/7000	Sadr-us-Sudur	" 374 a
10	Inayat Ullah Kashmiri	Kashmiri	6008/5000	Khan-i-Saman	" 377 b
11	Dil Diler Khan	Ansari (Indian)	6000/6000	Head of the escheat	T.M, 95, Kamwar 376 b
12	Jaswant Rai	Kayastha	-	Peshkar in Khalsa	Kamwar, 374 a
13	Kirpa Ram	"	-	Peshkar in Tan	Kamwar
14	Khawja Hamid Khan	Shaikh	-	Qazi-ul-Quzzat	Kamwar, 378 b
15	Ata Ali Khan	Kashmiri	-	Keeper of arsenal	T.M, 93
16	Hidayat-ullah Khan	"	-	Sup.of menial	Kamwar, f. 376 b

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
				Servants	
17	Muzaffar Khan, brother of Khan-i-Dawn	Shaikh (Indian)	5000/3000	Sup. of Retinue	" 376 b
18	Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk	Mughal	6000/5000	Sup. of Khawas	" " A.K, f. 176
19	Raja Gujjarmal	Kayastha	-	Head of Scouts	Kamwar f. 3766
20	Kifayatullah Khan	Indian	-	Librarian	" "
21	Ali-Ullah Khan	Indian	-	Darogha-i-Dak	" "
22	Fazil Ali Khan	-	-	Head of elephant Stable	" f. 3776
23	Lachhami Narain	Kayastha	2000/500	Peshkar in the Alizarat	" f. 3766
24	Marhamat Khan Ghazanfar Jang	Afghan	5000/5000	Governor of Patna	M.U, II, pp. 59-60, Text. III, pp.713-715
25	Mubariz Khan Mad-ul-Mulk	Turani			
26	Mohammad Hafiz (Diyaud	Turani	3000/2000	Sup. of the Office	M.U, II, p. 136, Text. II,

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
	Daula)			of revision of Petition and later Bayutat	p.748-49
27	Mukham Singh	Khatri	6000/7000	-	M.U, II, p.230
28	Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Ghalib Jang	Mughal	6000/5000	-	M.U, vol. II, 1070-1072, Text. II, p. 879-82

Appendix – III

NOBLES RECEIVED MANSAB IN 1720

S.No	Name	Groupe	Mansab	Post	Reference
1	Khawjah Abdullah (Father in Law of Mohd. Shah)		8000/6000		Kamwar, 376 a
2	Jahan Khan		7000/5000		" "
3	Muhammad Khan		7000/7000		" 374 b
4	Khawaja Monis Khan		6000/1000		" 377 b
5	Khawaja Abdul Aziz		7000/5000		" 374 a
6	Mir Hasan Khan Koka		6000/2000		" "
7	Dadr-ud-Din Mohd. Koka		4000/4000		" "
8	Yar Muhammad Koka		4000/3000		" "
9	Rahim Khan		4000/2000		" "

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
10	Shafi-ud-Din Khan		4000/2000		" "
11	Gursa Khan		4000/2000		" "
12	Izzat Ali Khan		4000/2000		" "
13	Jan Nisar Khan		4000/2000		" "
14	Sipahdur Khan		4000/2000		" "
15	Khaja Zarrud Khan		2000/2000		" "
16	Ashraf Khan		5000/3000		" "
17	Shah Nawaz Khan		4000/2000		" 376 b
18	Mohd. Amin Khan	Turani	8000/8000	Wazir	M.U, II, pp. 115-117, Text. I, pp. 346-350

Apendix – IV

OFFICERS APPOINTED IN 1739

S.No	Name	Groupe	Mansab	Post	Reference
1	Amir Khan, Umdat-ul-Mulk	Irani	6000	III Bakhshi	Sier-ul-Mutakhrin, p. 328
2	Ishaq Khan Mutaman ud Daulah	Irani	6000	Diwan-i-Khalse	" " p. 318
3	Azim Ullah Khan	Turani	6000	Sadar	" " p. 318
4	Murtaza Khan	Irani	-	Mir Tuzuk	" " p. 318
5	Nimat Ullah Khan	Turani	-	Qaraul	" " p. 318
6	Hadi Ali Khan	Irani		Darogha-i-feel Khana	" " p. 318
7	Salabat Khan	Irani		Bakhshi of Aadis	" " p. 318

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
8	Tarbiyat Khan	Khanzad		Darogha-i-Torkhana	" " p. 318
9	Hakim Masum Ali Khan	Irani		Sup. of post and Intelligence	" " p. 318
10	Safdar Jang	Irani		Governor of Awadh	" " p. 318
11	Mir Mohammad Baqar	Irani		Darogha-i-Irab Khana	" " p. 318
12	Asad Yar Khan	Irani	5000	Darogha-i-Harkora	" " p. 318
13	Sad-ud-Din Khan			Mir Atish	" " p. 318

Appendix – V

AHMAD SHAH (1748 – 54)

S.No	Name	Racial groupe	Salary	Post	Reference
1	Safdar Jang	Irani	8000/8000	Wazir (1748-53)	T.A, f.14 b, M.U, I, p.137-40, Text.I, pp.365-368
2	Nasir Jang Gihaziuddin	Turani		Comptroller of office	M.U, II, pp.386-87, Sier, III, p.286
3	Intizam-ud-Daulah. Khan-i-Khaw	Turani	5000/5000	IInd Mir Bakhshi (1748-51)	T.A, f.15 b, M.U, II, p.491, Text. I, p.361, 1754 he become Wazir., Sier,III, p.289
4	Saadat Khan, Zulfiqar Jany	Turani	8000/8000	IInd Mir Bakhshi (1748-51)	M.U, II, p.653, T.A, f. 14 a, Text.II, 524-527

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
5	Nasir Jang the Martyr	Turani son of Nizan-ul-Mulk			M.U, II, pp. 398 – 408
6	Javed Khan	Cunuch	6000/4000 Cater 7000/7000	Darogha-i-Diwan Khan(19th June 1748)	Sier, iii, p.872, T.A, f,15 b, Text, f..15a, 14 b, 25 a
7	Imad-ul-Mulk	Turani		Wazir 17514 Mir Bakshi 12th December 1752	M.U, II, p.424,T.A. f.55 a, Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim, p.136, Khazam-i-Amira, pp.48-49
8	Abu Turab Khan	Irani	.	Qiladar and Police Supt	T.Ah. ff. 41 a – 43 a
9	Shujauddaulah	Irani		Daputy Mir Atish (18th May 1753)	T.A, f.15 a, Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan, f.60 a
10	Roz-i-Afxun	Cunuch	6000/4000	Nazarat-i-Diwan-i-Saf-i-Khas	Sier, iii, p.858, T.A, ff. 14 a, 15 b

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
11	Ishaq Khan, Naimuddeulah	Irani		Diwan-i-Khalse	T.A, f. 15 b, Sier, III, p. 285
12	Abdullah Khan	Turani		Sadrus-Sudur	Mirat-i-Ahmadi, II, pp. 374-377
13	Saduddin Khan	Turani		Khan-i-Saman	Siyar, iii, p. 37
14	Zulfiqar Jang	Turani			M.U, II, pp. 652-54
15	Muinul Mulk Mninuddin Khan	Tarani		Governor of Lahore and Multan	T.A, f. 15 b
16	Bakht Singh Rothor	Rajpute		Governor of Gujrat 20th June 1748	Mirat-i-Ahmadi, ii, p. 374-77
17	Raja Nagarmal				
18	Ahmad Ali Khan	Afghan		Command Ahadian	Sier, III, p. 285
19	Raja Ishwari Singh	Rajpute	7000/7000		T.A, p. 117 (E & D, Vol. VIII)

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
20	Qaim Khan Baugosh	Afghan	7000/7000		T.A, p. 116 (E & D, Vol. VIII)
21	Najib-ud-Daulah	Afghan/Rohilla	5000/8000	Mir Bakshi (1170 A.H, 1757A.D)	M.U, II, pp,371-74, Najib-ud-Daulah
22	Man Khan	Brother of Udham Bai, Indian	7000/7000		T.A, f. 176, Sier, iii, p. 890
23	Syed Salabat Khan		8000/8000	Governor of Ahhahabad and Agra	M.U, II, p. 524-7
24	Hism Khan Samsamud Daulah	Turani		Mir Bakshi (Vudahuad)	T.A, f. 135 b, M.U, II, p. 426
25	Ghaziud Din Khan Feroz Jang younger	Turani		Governor of Deccen Amir-ul-	M.U,I, P. 592-93, T.A, ff. 29 a b, Text. Vol. I, 361-62

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
	son Asal After 1751			Umara	
26	Ali Quli Khan Zafar Jang	Afghan	-	IInd Mir Tuxuk	Khazina-i-Amira, p. 446
27	Ahmad Ali Khan	Irani		Bakshi Ahdiyan	T.A, f. 15 b
28	Abu Turab Khan	Irani		Qiladar	
29	Raja Cachchami Narain	Irani (allies		Door Keeper	
30	Ali Mohd Khan Rohilla	Afghan			M.U, I, p. 195
31	Aqibat Mahmood Khan	Turani (Kashmiri)		Advisoor of mad-ul-Malk	
32	Ghaziuddin Khan eldest son of Asaf Jah and father of Imad-ul-Mulk	Turani		Mir Bakshi (7th June 1751- 29th Oct. 1752)	Sier, ii, p. 43, Senkar, I, p.201

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
33	Mirza Ali Khan (Civil war on the side of Emperor)	Irani		IIIrd Bakshi	A.Ali, 55b, Shakir, p. 74 Sarkar, I, p. 274

Appendix – VI

ALAMGIR SANI (1754 – 59)

S.No	Name	Groupe	Mansab	Post	Refrence
1	Imad-ul-mulk	Turani		Wazir (1754 Jan.1757)	T.Muzaffari,f.30,M.U.,vol.I,pp.
2	Najib-ud-Daulah	Afghan	7000/7000	Amir-ul-Umara	M.U,II,pp.371-374,T.III,pp.865-68 chaker Gulzar-i-Skujai f. 152a
3	Safdar Jang	Irani/son of Abdul Mausan Khan		Dled in 1754	M.U,I,pp.137-140,Text,I,pp.365-368
4	Shujaud Daula	Irani		Oudh	M.U,II,p. 866-871 Text,II,pp.715-722

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
5	Ahmad Khan Ben	Afghan		Imperial Payuaster	Najib-ud-Daulah, p. 16
6	Sam Sam-ud-Daula Khan-i-Dauran				
7	Intizam-ud-Dauran	Turani		Wazir, 23ed Jan. 1757	M.U.
8	Basant Khan	Eunuch			
9	Mughalani Begam	Turani		Governor of Panjab	TAS, 59b, 66a
10	Abdul Ahad Khan				
11	Yaqub Ali Khan	Afghan	6000/6000	Lord Chamberlain	T.A.S, 86b; Raj. I..p. 437
12	Badr-ud-Daulah			Mir Afish	T.A.S, 103
13	Madho Singh	Rajput	7000/4000		T. Muzaffari, f. 25
14	Ali Quli Khan	Afthan	7000/7000		Khaziua-i-Amira, p. 447

S.No	Name	Group	Mansab	Post	Reference
15	Ziaud Daula			Mhan-i-Sahan	Ahmad Shah Wurrani, p. 154
16	Ali Gauhar	Prince		Wazir	Chakar Gulzan Shujai, F. 152a
17	Adiva Beg Khan	Turani		Panjab	Shab Alam Ulama, p. 26
18	Raka Magar <a;			Uptill 24th Jan. 1757 Diwan	Sarkar, ii, p. 66
19	Abdul Ahad Khan	Afghan		29th Jan. 1717, Diwan IIIrdBakashi till 29thJan. 1757	Sarkar, ii, p. 66
20	Ali Quli Khan Migrated to India in 1734. He got the title Zafar Jang and Later Khan-i-Zaum M. 1756		7000/7000		Kazina-i-Amira, 446-450, Indian Autiguny 790f, p.44. Veak's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, new ed. by Keene, p. 146.

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